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The Way of the Proletariat of the Soviet Union is the Way of Salvation of the Working People from Capitalist Slavery, Imperialist Wars and Fascism

APPEAL OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ON THE EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

TO ALL PROLETARIANS! TO ALL TOILERS!

Eighteen years ago when nations were drowning in blood and suffering the unspeakable horrors and misfortunes of war, the revolt of the working class of Russia pointed out a new road to exhausted humanity, the road to peace, socialism and freedom.

The voice of Lenin uttered the mighty call to all nations:

"The workers' and peasants' government, created by the revolution of November 6 and 7, and based on the Soviets of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies, proposes that all warring nations and their governments should start immediate negotiations for a just and democratic peace."

The peoples of Russia took the revolutionary way out of an imperialist war.

This victory was won because the proletariat, led by the Party of Bolsheviks, was able to rally the toilers and lead them in the fight for the overthrow of capitalism, in the fight for the proletarian dictatorship.

This was a victory for the *international* proletariat.

The guns that bombarded the Winter Palace of the Russian tsars where the government of war, where the government of capitalists and landlords had taken refuge, aroused the masses of all countries. The outbreak of the revolutionary struggle of workers, peasants, sailors and soldiers who cursed the war compelled the imperialist governments to put an end to the world slaughter.

Imperialism mobilized all the forces of reaction against the young proletarian republic. The gaunt hand of famine directed by the international bourgeoisie fastened itself on the throat of the Land of the Soviets. Mustering all their strength, the workers and peasants of the Land of the Soviets beat off the interventionists and whiteguard hordes and set about the great work of building the new socialist society.

This was a victory for the *international* proletariat.

The liberation of the workers from exploitation opened the way for the swift growth of productive forces based on public ownership. Under the leadership of the great Stalin, the Soviet Union was trans-

formed from a weak, backward country into a powerful, industrial socialist power. In the merciless fight against the class enemy who endeavored to frustrate the work of socialist construction, the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. achieved an all-round consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship. It created an invincible and glorious Red Army and armed it with the most modern technical equipment for the defense of the conquests of the great proletarian revolution and for the defense of the cause of peace.

The U.S.S.R. has become an impregnable stronghold of proletarians, toilers and whole nations against a new imperialist slaughter, against fascism and capitalist offensive.

But on five-sixths of the globe, the proletariat has not yet succeeded in overthrowing the power of capital. That is why the bourgeoisie has been able to intensify exploitation and plunder the toiling masses. That is why it is wreaking vengeance on them by means of fascist terror. That is why it is subjecting them to new imperialist wars.

The proletarians and the peoples of the world are now filled with profound alarm. Italian fascism, the instigator of war, is enslaving the Ethiopian people with the help of fire and sword. British imperialism is threatening to extend the arena of the war in defense of its colonial rule. The military-fascist clique of Japan, having occupied a large part of China, is continuing to throttle the Chinese people and preparing for further seizures in the Far East. The fascist dictatorship in Germany, which has become the center of international counter-revolution, has become a menace to peace and the independence of neighboring countries and is striving to involve Europe in war.

In the face of insolent international reaction and the growing danger of a world war, the toilers of all countries are rallying more closely around the U.S.S.R. which, by its consistent policy of peace and its exposure of imperialist plans, is preventing the imperialists from starting a new world war.

What would happen to the peoples of Europe, what would happen in distant Asia and all over the world, were it not for the great and powerful Soviet Union!

The mighty proletarian power is a prime factor for peace. *To defend the Soviet Union is to defend the cause of peace!*

On this, the eighteenth anniversary of the great proletarian revolution in the U.S.S.R., the Communist International appeals to you to *unite your forces in order to put a stop to the war in Ethiopia, to defend the Chinese people and to wage a joint struggle against imperialism and fascism.* Only your united action can put an end to the predatory wars in Ethiopia and China, call a halt to the frenzy of fascist terror, restrain the capitalist offensive and transfer the burden of the crisis to the backs of the exploiters.

Three years have elapsed since capitalist economy reached its lowest ebb, but nowhere has the bourgeoisie entered on a new rise of capitalism. Now when the social consequences of the crisis have developed to their full, the misery, poverty and sufferings of the toilers are immeasurable in their extent.

Surrounded by *capitalist chaos*, the country where the *socialist system* prevails—the U.S.S.R.—is as solid as a rock. The Land of the Soviets meets the eighteenth anniversary of the great proletarian revolution with tremendous achievements.

The Second Five-Year Plan is being successfully fulfilled. Socialist industry is growing. The productivity of socialist labor is increasing. Tens of millions of workers are mastering the most up-to-date technique. The standard of living and the culture of the toilers is steadily rising. Agriculture, at one time backward and semi-barbaric, has become one of the most highly organized sections of the socialist economy in the Soviet Union. The tremendous development of collective farming and the unprecedented speed with which agricultural work is being performed, guarantee the further improvement in the welfare of the masses.

The ration system has been abolished in the U.S.S.R. with food prices rapidly falling, whereas in fascist Germany prices are unrestrainedly rising and starvation is knocking at the doors of the toilers.

The example of the U.S.S.R. is convincing millions of people that *socialism means the fullest satisfaction of the needs of the masses*, that socialism is a new and higher form of human civilization. Socialism means the rapid development of the creative forces of liberated nationalities. It means the emancipation of millions of women. It means millions of scholars and university students. It means literacy for the whole people. It means books and newspapers printed in millions of copies. It means the blossoming of culture, science and art. It means intimate contact between men of science and the masses of their socialist country. It means a new system in which the most valuable capital of all is man, the creator of socialism and himself the great aim of socialism.

At the same time, the toiling masses of the capitalist countries are learning by their own experience that capitalism means slavery and fascist darkness. In the capitalist world, the bourgeoisie, in order to save its rotten system, is resorting to the barbarous methods of fascism. Fascism tramples on all elementary rights of the working class and the toilers.

In fascist Germany, the most degraded and bestial chauvinism prevails, the theory of the dominant race which implies unceasing war between nations. Never in the darkest period of the Middle Ages has man, his dignity, his striving for freedom, been so humiliated. In fascist countries people are only dirt under the feet of a "superior race" of financial magnates and fascist drill-sergeants.

Socialism alone can bring genuine freedom to mankind. Only in the U.S.S.R. and for the first time in history is the rule of the people being established, the rule of the workers and collective farmers who have become the sovereign masters of their country. Only the Soviet Union, only the dictatorship of the working class, can ensure the truly equal, direct suffrage, the fullest form of proletarian democracy based on socialist reconstruction.

Only as a result of the destruction of the exploiting classes, only in the obstinate struggle for the annihilation of all capitalist elements can the proletarian democracy in the U.S.S.R. be able to grow and gain

in strength. And millions of toilers in capitalist countries, having suffered from the bankruptcy of the old bourgeois democracy and witnessing the triumphant growth of the new proletarian democracy, are more and more turning their gaze towards the U.S.S.R., *the real bulwark of the freedom of nations.*

The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is inflaming hatred for capitalism and arousing revolutionary activity amongst all those who in the capitalist world are suffering from unemployment, hunger, ruthless fascist tyranny and cynical contempt for the exploited and oppressed.

Proletarians and toilers of the world!

The people are thirsting for emancipation from capitalist slavery. The people do not want imperialist wars. Nothing will ever reconcile them to fascism. The way of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. is the only true way, the only certain way of the emancipation of the toilers from capitalist slavery and imperialist wars and fascism.

Proletarians, class brothers, close your ranks!

Fight for proletarian unity, the banner of which was raised by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International!

Forge *the united labor front!* Draw into it all labor organizations prepared to fight the common class enemy. Turn it into a *people's anti-fascist front* against capitalist offensive, fascism and war.

United proletarian action was cemented by the blood jointly spilt in armed struggles of the Austrian and Spanish proletarians. It was forged in the mighty united front actions of the French workers against fascism. In common struggle in Asturias, Vienna and Paris was achieved the fraternal unity of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers.

Strengthen this unity despite the resistance of the reactionary elements in the labor movement. *Follow the example of victorious struggle of the workers in the U.S.S.R.,* who under the leadership of the great *party of Lenin and Stalin,* were able to overthrow capitalism, establish a Soviet government and achieve the final, irrevocable victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Long live the great proletarian revolution in the U.S.S.R.!

Long live the Soviet government all over the world!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Unite the Forces of the Young Generation!

(Address delivered at the opening of the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International, September 25, 1935.)

By GEORGI DIMITROFF

(All rise as Comrade Dimitroff mounts the tribune. Loud, prolonged applause. Shouts of welcome in all languages, coming from the American, Chinese, French, Czech and other delegations. The applause continues.)

COMRADES, I am bringing you warm greetings from the Executive Committee of the Communist International. *(Loud applause.)*

The remarkable words of the great leader and teacher of the proletariat and of all the oppressed of the world, Comrade Stalin, that "*internationalism is the fundamental idea that permeates the activity of the Young Communist League*", find their living embodiment in you.

No dangers that beset your long and arduous road, no fascist or police cordons were able to prevent you from gathering in the Red proletarian capital for the purpose of discussing, in a friendly and amicable way, like the international family that you are, the tasks of uniting the forces of the young generation of toilers.

You are a congress of the revolutionary youth, a congress of strength and courage! How many of the best and most exemplary fighters in the cause of the toiling youth have assembled at your Congress!

Among your delegates is young Diega, wounded while bravely fighting on the barricades of Asturias. *(Applause.)*

In your midst there is Janicki, who has already served eight years of his life in jail, who succeeded in escaping from his stone-walled place of imprisonment to take active part once more in the struggle of the Polish revolutionary youth. *(Applause.)*

In your midst there is Commissar Su I-ping, a League member hailing from the ranks of the heroic Chinese Red Army, which is fighting for the liberation of the Chinese people. *(Applause.)*

In your midst there are Timofayev, Khan Murat, Krainov and Sviridov, foremost representatives of the Soviet youth, decorated with the high Order of Lenin by the Soviet government for their outstanding services in the struggle for socialism. *(Applause. All rise. Cheers of welcome from the German, French, American and Czech delegations.)*

The delegations of the greatest organization of the toiling youth in the world, the delegation of the Leninist Young Communist League, which under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party won honor and glory in the cause of building socialism, and which is fighting for the Communist training of the youth, is headed at your Congress by its leader, Comrade Kossarev, who has grown up in the youth movement and been

awarded a decoration. (*Tempestuous, prolonged applause. The French delegation sings "The Young Guard". All delegates answer the call of the German delegation to join in a mighty, thrice-repeated "Red Front".*)

In the ranks of the Young Communist International, staunch, devoted and valorous fighters for the liberation of the working class from the yoke of fascism, the yoke of capitalism, receive their training. Prominent representatives of the youth movement like Comrades Raymond Guyot, Gil Green, Michal Wolf and Chemodanov have grown up in its ranks and are present at this Congress. By their militant activity they have gained authority not only in the Young Communist International but also among the masses of the youth in the socialist and other youth organizations. (*Loud, prolonged applause.*)

It is with pride and affection that I welcome, through you, in the name of the older revolutionary generation, the glorious young guard of the toiling classes of the whole world. (*Loud applause.*)

Comrades, a month ago the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International completed its work in this hall where you are assembled today.

The Congress of the Comintern, led by the brilliant teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, thoroughly discussed all the main problems of the international labor movement and mapped out the road that must be taken to overcome the split in this movement, and to weld together the forces of the toilers in the struggle against exploiters and oppressors, against fascism and war. The Congress of the Communist International paid particular attention to the youth movement as one of the principal problems of the international revolutionary movement, understanding full well that the victory of the class struggle of the toiling masses depends upon the correct and successful development of the youth movement, upon its assuming a sweeping mass character.

Fascism has wreaked bestial vengeance upon the best fighters of the revolutionary youth. At the same time it is making every endeavor to adapt its putrid demagoguery to the moods of the broad masses of the youth, and to take advantage of the growing militant activity of the youth for its own reactionary ends, in order to convert it into a prop of dying capitalism.

Depriving the young generation of the toilers of all rights, the fascist governments militarize the whole of the youth, and try to raise from their ranks obedient slaves of finance capital in civil as well as imperialist war.

What can we place in opposition to fascism and the threat of imperialist war which has become particularly accentuated in view of the preparations being made by Italian fascism to attack Ethiopia and by German fascism to attack Lithuania?

We can and must place in opposition to it the union of all anti-fascist forces, first and foremost, the union of all the forces of the young generation of the toilers. We can counter it by enhancing a thousandfold the role and activity of the youth in the struggle of the working class for its own interests, for its own cause.

Let the entire activity of the Congress of the Young Communist International be devoted to the attainment of this immediate and principal goal. (*Applause.*)

On the basis of the experience you already have gained, and the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, we expect you to be able to find the proper ways and means of accomplishing the most important task of your movement, the task of uniting the forces of the entire non-fascist youth, primarily of the working class youth, the task of achieving unity with the Socialist youth.

This, however, cannot be achieved if the Young Communist Leagues keep on trying, as they have done hitherto, to construct their organizations as if they were Communist Parties of the youth; nor will this be possible if they are content, as heretofore, to lead the secluded life of sectarians, isolated from the masses.

The entire anti-fascist youth is interested in uniting and organizing its forces. Therefore you, comrades, must find such ways, such forms and methods of work as will assure the formation, in the capitalist countries, of a *new type* of mass youth organizations, to which no vital interest the toiling youth will be alien, organizations which, without copying the Party, will fight for *all* the interests of the youth, will bring up the youth in the spirit of the class struggle, of proletarian internationalism, the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

This requires that the Congress must rigidly *check up* and *reappraise* the work of the Young Communist Leagues, for the purpose of *actually* achieving their reorganization and the fearless removal of everything obstructing the development of mass work, as well as the establishment of the united front and unity of the youth.

We expect the Young Communist International to build up its activity in such a manner as to weld and unite all trade union, cultural, educational and sports organizations of the toiling youth, all revolutionary, national-revolutionary, national-liberation and anti-fascist youth organizations, for the struggle against fascism and war, for the rights of the young generation.

We note with great pleasure that our young comrades in France and the United States have actively joined the mass movement for a united front of the youth which is so successfully developing, and have already achieved in this sphere successes which hold out great promises. All Sections of the Young Communist International should profit by this experience of the French and American comrades. (*Applause.*)

In many countries relations between the Communist and Socialist youth are becoming closer and closer. A striking example of this is the presence, at this Congress of the Young Communist International, of representatives of not only the Communist but also the Socialist youth of Spain. (*Applause.*)

Therefore, comrades, follow boldly the course of uniting with the Socialist youth and of forming common, single organizations with it. Follow boldly the course of uniting all forces of the anti-fascist youth!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International will encourage and support in every way your initiative and activity in the

struggle to unite and fight for all the vital interests of the toiling youth.

The millions of young men and women for whom capitalist society has created impossible conditions of existence, who either are not embraced by any organization at all or are in organizations led by the class enemy, are your brothers and sisters, whom you can and *must* win over to the side of socialism by your persistent work.

Don't wait until unity between the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties and other organizations of the working class has been reached.

Be bold, independent and full of initiative. (Applause.)

You are the Congress of the most active, the most self-sacrificing section of the young generation of today. You cannot stand aside from the movement in favor of unity which is growing and strengthening in the ranks of the working class. You do not have to wait like the Socialist Youth International for permission "from above" before you can support the united front movement and the union of the toiling youth in one organization.

In the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International I declare that the youth which is being united in the ranks of the Young Communist International enjoys and will continue to enjoy every opportunity of *independently* developing its revolutionary movement and solving the problems of this movement. (Applause.)

Communist in youth organizations must be able to work in such a way as to influence the decisions of these organizations by convincing their members, and not by issuing orders in the name of the Party.

I call to mind the words of the great Lenin which form the basis for the relations between the Communist International and the youth and its organizations:

"Frequently the middle-aged and the aged *do not know how to approach the youth in the proper way, for, necessarily, the youth must come to socialism in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances* than their fathers. Incidentally, this is why we must be decidedly in favor of the *organizational independence* of the Youth League, *not only* because the opportunists fear this independence, but because of the very nature of the case; for unless they have complete independence the youth *will be unable* either to train good Socialists from their midst or prepare themselves to lead socialism forward." *

Comrades, you must *study, study while you fight!*

Combine your day-to-day practical activities with a profound study

of the original sources of Marxism-Leninism, for without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice.

Be exemplary, staunch and valorous fighters against fascism, against capitalism. (Applause.)

Hold aloft the banner of the liberation of humanity from capitalist slavery, the banner of the Communist International. (Loud applause.)

Rally the young generation of toilers of the whole world around this

* Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 242, International Publishers, New York.

banner. This emblem of stupendous victories is already waving over one-sixth part of the globe and will fly triumphantly over the whole world! It is the flag of the great leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin!

(All rise. A storm of applause. Shouts of "Long live the great Stalin!" "Long live the helmsman of the Comintern, Comrade Dimitroff!" "Long live the Comintern!" Shouts of "Hurrah!" "Banzai!" A triple "Red Front!" Singing of the "Bandiera Rossa" and the "Internationale." The German delegation, joined by everyone in the hall, sings the "March of Red Wedding.")

The Italo-Ethiopian War, United Working Class Action and the Position of the Socialist International

By K. GOTTWALD

THE onslaught of Italian fascism on the Ethiopian people is a fresh and serious warning to the international working class. Just think—this war is not a bolt from the blue. Preparations for it went on for many months, before the eyes of the whole world. And these preparations were carried on with the insolent cynicism of which only bestial fascism is capable. The rapacious nature of this war is clearly obvious to everybody. The whole world is filled with indignation against the fascist aggressor, and with sympathy for the Ethiopian people who are being attacked. And yet Mussolini was able to risk such a bloody adventure, all the consequences of which it is difficult to foresee as yet. It is the right and even the duty of the international proletariat to raise the following question: how did it happen, and was it not possible to avert this war?

In his reply to the debate at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Dimitroff determinedly rejected the fatalistic viewpoint of the inevitability of imperialist wars, when he said:

“It is true that imperialist wars are a product of capitalism, that only by overthrowing capitalism can there be an end to all wars, *but it is also true that the toiling masses can prevent imperialist war by their militant action.*” (My italics.—K.G.)

Yes, of course, the present war in Africa could also have been averted. But the most important and prime condition necessary for this was *united action by the workers' organizations and militant action on the part of the toiling masses.* In his telegram to the Labor and Socialist International, dated October 7, 1935, Comrade Dimitroff emphasized this point in the following serious declaration:

“The international working class has been unable to prevent this war just as it was unable to prevent German fascism coming to power, because its organizations did not act unitedly and in solidarity. As a result, the working class was not in a position to launch a mighty people's movement of all peace-loving classes and peoples against the incendiaries of war, thus erecting an unsurmountable wall against war.”

And, indeed, just imagine for one moment that it had been possible to organize joint action in due time by all working class organizations both in individual countries and on an international scale. Would this not have had an enormous influence over all other sections of the popu-

ation? And would it not have attracted in their millions, the masses of peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals—in short, the majority of the population—into a broad front of peace? And had this broad peace front, not restricting its activities merely to appeals to the League of Nations, begun to carry out *independent anti-war demonstrations and in particular had seriously occupied itself with preparing such action as would have led to the actual isolation of the fascist aggressor* when who would try to assert that this would not have influenced the trend of events? In the face of such an international mobilization of forces, operating in favor of peace, Mussolini would have thought twice, or even more before giving the order to advance against Ethiopia. In the face of action of *this kind* on the part of the front of the forces striving for peace, the various capitalist governments in the League of Nations would have been forced to act *opportunistly and energetically* against the fascist aggressor and this, in turn, would have restrained his warlike efforts. But it was not possible, unfortunately, to secure such action by the peace front, and so mankind is now face to face with the accomplished fact of a new bloody war.

The Communist International gave the warning in time, sounded the alarm, offered a hand to the Labor and Socialist International in time, and proposed an alliance for joint struggle against war and for peace. Thus, on the eve of May 1 of this year, the Comintern made a proposal to the Labor and Socialist International to arrange joint May Day demonstrations under the slogan of peace and emphasized in particular the menace of war in Ethiopia. The entire Seventh Congress of the Comintern was, as we know, one fiery appeal for united action by the working class. When the menace of war became immediate, on September 15, the Comintern renewed its proposal. And on October 7, when the first Italian bombs were already bursting over the Ethiopian villages, Comrade Dimitroff once more telegraphed to the Secretariat of the Socialist International as follows:

“Now that so much time has already been lost, it is all the more our duty and yours at this moment to put a stop to military action and prevent the war from spreading to other parts of the world.

“Any further delay in bringing about united action against the war that has already begun would be fatal.”

The Executive Committee of the Socialist International took up the Comintern proposal only on October 12, *i.e.*, somewhat late. But, as the saying goes, better late than never. According to the official report, representatives of 17 countries were present at that session of the Executive. The representatives of the *majority of the Social-Democratic parties* were in favor of the Comintern proposal. Only representatives of five parties were *against*. But although the majority of the parties declared in favor of accepting our proposal, although this was demanded by a hitherto unprecedented number of Social-Democratic workers and organizations in different countries, although the war declared by Italy was already at its height and it was therefore *absolutely essential* for

united action to be undertaken by the international proletariat, the Executive Committee of the Socialist International nevertheless decided not to accept the proposal of the Comintern.

Who inspired it to adopt such a fatal decision? Who has once more rejected the outstretched hand, who in the hour of dire danger has undermined the possibility of international united working class action? Who have taken upon themselves such a heavy responsibility and by behaving like strikebreakers, real *strikebreakers* indeed, have encouraged all the fascist war instigators to attempt still further bloody adventures? The official report of the Executive Committee of the Socialist International itself points to those who are the culprits. The report states the following:

"As regards the proposals of the Comintern regarding an interview with the four delegates appointed by the latter, the Socialist Parties of England, Holland, Sweden, Denmark and Czechoslovakia declared that they could not endorse the adoption of this proposal for the following reasons: first, in view of the composition of the Comintern delegation, and, second, because they reject every kind of united action with the Communist Parties of these countries and all other kinds of action by the two Internationals. The Executive Committee which is compelled to take account of the opinions of these big working class parties cannot accept the invitation of the Comintern."

Thus, it was the representatives of the British Labor Party and of the Social-Democratic Parties of Holland, Sweden, Denmark and Czechoslovakia who were responsible for the rejection of our proposal. It is they who are preventing any possibility of joint action between the two Internationals, and, moreover, at a moment when blood is being shed, when it is a question of saving the lives of tens of thousands of peace-loving Ethiopians and Italian soldiers, when an end should be put to this bloodbath, and steps taken to prevent it from spreading to other parts of the world. People like these should be called to the court of the working class, and first and foremost before the court of the workers of their own parties! Do you want to know their names? Here they are: *J. Compton, G. Dallas, H. Dalton, V. Gillies*, from England; *I. Stivin, F. Soucup, Al Schefer* from Czechoslovakia; *I. V. Albarda, K. Voering* from Holland; *Z. Höglund, R. Lindström* from Sweden; *V. Christensen* from Denmark.

How can this sort of behavior on the part of the Social-Democratic leaders of these five countries be explained? Is it not a fact that these leaders also pass resolutions of protest against the Italian war in Ethiopia? Is it not a fact that they are also against the war and demand severe measures against the fascist aggressor? How can we interpret the fact that they reject united working class action against the war? "To accept the proposal of the Communist International would mean to harm the working class movement in our *own* country"—this is what the arguments amount to of those who, although they talk a lot about the struggle against war, are against unity in this struggle. On a closer

amination of the whole affair we can prove that there is something quite different behind the dark deeds of the reactionary leaders!

England is now on the eve of the elections. The leaders of the Labor Party assert that a united front with the Communists "would compromise" them in the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie and restrict the election prospects of the Labor Party. An argument which is ideologically wrong. If there is anything which can compromise the leaders of the Labor Party in the eyes of the masses it is their own policy of dragging at the tail of the policy of the National Government, and their splitting activities inside the working class. On the contrary, this policy does not strengthen, but rather weakens the possibilities of the Labor Party in the elections. The establishment of unity of action of the English proletariat, joint action on the part of the working class organizations of all kinds against the war and against the home and foreign policy of the National Government in England, as is the case in France, would attract the masses of the petty bourgeoisie to the side of the working class and would lead to the defeat of the National Government at the elections. Why is it that the Labor leaders, who have themselves used the slogan that the National Government must be defeated and that a Labor government must be brought into power, do not choose this plain and simple road proposed by the English Communists? Why is it that the Labor leaders, with their splitting policy in the ranks of the working class and their support for British imperialism, widen the prospects of the National Government itself at the elections? For the simple reason that the reactionary leaders of the Labor Party do not want to compromise themselves in the eyes of the British *bourgeoisie*, because they prefer collaboration with the *bourgeoisie* to the establishment of united working class action.

In Czechoslovakia, the leaders of Social-Democracy belong, with the bourgeoisie, to one governmental coalition. They point out that if they were to establish a united front with the Communists they would have to resign from the government. The Czechoslovak *bourgeoisie* do, indeed, confront them with this problem. But can this be a reason for maintaining the split in the ranks of the working class in Czechoslovakia? The ministers belonging to Czechoslovak Social-Democracy give us the following reply:

"If we resign from the government, our places will be taken by the fascists, and so we have to do everything possible to remain in the government."

Such an attitude to the question can be adopted only by people who are hopelessly dependent upon the bourgeoisie. If they were to unite their ranks in the course of the struggle, the working class of Czechoslovakia, with the establishment of united action, would be in a position to draw the toiling peasantry and intellectuals away from the influence of the bourgeoisie in a comparatively short space of time, and would have their disposal sufficient strength not only to prevent the fascists from entering the government, but also to develop an extensive struggle for a people's front government. In this direction broad prospects await

the toiling population of Czechoslovakia. But the policy of the reactionary leaders of Czechoslovak Social-Democracy, on the contrary, is bringing the working class to a deadlock. Now, already, the reactionary section of the governmental coalition is beginning more and more to bring down its fist upon the table, and to confront the Social-Democratic leaders with the dilemma of swallowing what they are given, or famishing! "If you don't want to obey, then clear out, others will take your places." But if things continue in this way, and the Socialist workers and organizations are unable to call their reactionary leaders to order, then the fascists may indeed come to power, and the scattered working class will not be in a position to prevent them. The way to avert fascist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia is to take the road of united working class action, the road of the people's front, as proposed by the Communists. Why do the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy reject this road? Simply because taking this road would compromise them in the eyes of the Czech *bourgeoisie*, would mean that they would have to give up the policy of collaboration with the *bourgeoisie*, while collaboration with the bourgeoisie is obviously dearer to these people than the vital interests of the working class.

From what has been said it is clear that the reactionary section of the leaders of the British Labor Party and of the Social-Democratic Parties of Czechoslovakia, Holland, Denmark and Sweden, by their repeated refusals to accept the proposals of the Comintern, are sabotaging not only the struggle of the *international proletariat* against war, but also the struggle for the immediate interests of the *toiling masses of their own countries*. For these leaders to continue collaboration with the bourgeoisie is of more importance than the interests of the proletariat. This alone can be the explanation of their behavior and nothing else. And what does this lead to? Of what benefit are declarations against war, if at the same time obstacles are put in the way of uniting the workers and working class organizations for joint struggle against war? Obviously only the fascist war instigators can gain from this. Who can be the gainer, on the one hand, shouting about the need to defeat the National Government in the elections and, on the other, following the trail of this same National Government and preventing the possibility of united action by the proletariat against it and its policy? Obviously only the bourgeois reactionary parties, the National Government and the British fascists. Who can gain any benefit from lots of talk about one's desire to prevent the advent to power of the fascists in Czechoslovakia, while at the same time serving those who are engaged in plots with the fascists, and on the other hand from violent protestations against the united working class front? Obviously only the enemies of the toiling people.

* * *

It can be recorded with satisfaction that there were people to be found in the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International who spoke in favor of the Comintern proposal. This must be considered a *success* from the point of view of all who aim at united work-

g class action and who are fighting for it. This is proof of the fact that the idea of united action and joint struggle is steadily making headway in the ranks of the Socialist *leaders* as well. We welcome every step of these leaders on the road towards the united front and real unity of action, which millions are insisting upon today (and which millions are demanding today), and we shall support them in this. But it is in the interests of this cause that we must now openly indicate the *weak side* of the actions of those who were in favor of the Comintern proposals being accepted by the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International.

How is the Socialist worker, the honest supporter of united action, to understand you when you declare in favor of accepting that which you are convinced is right, and then, in the end, you vote for the resolution which rejects your own proposals? And the more so since the majority were actually in favor of this proposal. For this was just the position at the Executive Committee of the Socialist International; according to the official report 17 parties were represented, of which five were against accepting the Comintern proposal and the rest were in favor; while the resolution rejecting the Comintern proposal was accepted unanimously with one abstention. Don't you think there is an absence of consistency here? Consistent capitulation as soon as the opponents of the united front bring their fists down upon the table cannot be considered consistent behavior.

You justify your retreat before the opponents of united action by the following phrase in the Executive Committee resolution:

"The Executive Committee of the Second International, which is compelled to take account of the opinions of these big working class parties, cannot accept the invitation of the Comintern."

Does it not seem to you that the supporters of united action in the ranks of the Socialist International (and you know as well as we do that many members of the parties whose leaders have rejected the Comintern proposals are also supporters of unity) are perfectly justified in asking themselves why the Executive Committee only took account of the opinions of the *opponents of the united front*, and did not take into consideration the viewpoint of the *supporters of the united front*? The more since the latter constitute the *majority*. Is not force, and the arbitrariness of the reactionary minority in relation to the majority evident here? The fact that reactionary leaders are prepared at any price, even by force, to defend their viewpoint which is harmful to the working class of the whole world will, of course, surprise nobody. These leaders use analogous methods at home against the members of their own organizations. But what is surprising is that not only do you not condemn this reactionary arbitrariness, but justify it in every possible way.

You might, perhaps, make the following objection: if the Executive Committee were to accept the proposal of the Comintern against the will of the leaders of these five parties, it would mean a split in the Labor and Socialist International, a thing which you want to avoid. But since when has the right to veto operated in any labor organization?

An organization of this kind would be undermined and rendered incapable of doing anything from the very outset. For any member could come out and declare: since things are not going my way, I shall destroy the whole organization. And if the others who constitute the majority were always to retreat before such a veto and threats of this kind, and to say: all right, let it be your way so long as we keep together, then what would happen in the long run? It would mean that in their own organization they would be superfluous, and have no weight at all.

You are probably right when you assert that even had the Executive Committee of the Socialist International accepted the Comintern proposal, it would have been unable to compel the leading organs of the above-mentioned five parties to act jointly with the Communist Parties in their respective countries. However, in our opinion, a decision of this kind on the part of the Socialist International would answer the desires of the majority of the Socialist workers in the countries mentioned as well, would strengthen their struggle for united working class action and would in the last analysis compel the leading organs of these Social-Democratic Parties as well to adopt another, a positive, viewpoint. But now, if one may express it so, a "legal situation" has arisen in the Socialist International, where each party can decide *for itself* as to whether it will establish a united front or not. The resolution of the Executive Committee of the Socialist International of October 12, 1935, clearly emphasizes this point:

"The resolution of the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International, dated November 17, 1934, which allows the parties affiliated to it *to decide for themselves* whether or not they conclude a united front agreement with the Communist Parties of the respective countries remains in force."

But even if we agree that De Brouckere, the Belgian, cannot force Albarda, from Holland, to enter into a united front in Holland, there is nothing to prevent De Brouckere himself, in his own party in Belgium, from encouraging and operating united action. We can readily understand that Otto Bauer, the Austrian, is not able to persuade Stivin of Czechoslovakia not to place obstacles in the way of the united front in Czechoslovakia. But we completely fail to understand why Otto Bauer, in his last article which also advocates the united front "in world politics", hesitates at the formation of a united front in Austria. It is true that Wels, the German, is unable to force a positive viewpoint regarding united working class action in England upon Dalton, the Englishman. But Wels doubtlessly has sufficient power and influence inside his own Social-Democratic Party to achieve the establishment of the united front in Germany.

And so, friends, in Brussels, you spoke in favor of accepting the Comintern proposals. Very good. This is in the interests of the workers' cause. We welcome your action. But you voted for the resolution which rejected your own proposals. That was not good. That, if you will allow us to say so, was inconsistent, and we cannot under any circumstances agree with it. But be that as it may. You explain your action by stating that the opponents of the united front did not agree with you and that

you have to take account of their viewpoint. Of course, it is right to take account of the opinions of others. But to subordinate yourselves to an opinion with which you do not agree is not right, and that is more, it is wrong to justify and excuse the viewpoint with which you are not in agreement. But let that rest. You point out that even though the attitude of the Executive Committee of the Socialist International were positive towards the Comintern proposal, it would not be strong enough to get the same positive attitude evinced by the five parties whose leaders were against the Comintern proposals. That is a pity, and we regret it. But let that be. It is now important for us to find common ground where the reactionary opponents of the united front cannot disturb you, namely, in *your own countries*. For the time being these people have prevented unity of action on an *international* scale. We shall continue to fight unswervingly for international unity. But we shall most speedily achieve this through establishing the united front in *separate countries*, as in France. It would be logical for all the Socialist Parties whose representatives to the Executive Committee of the Socialist International were in favor of the Comintern proposals, to follow the example of the Socialist Party of France. More so, since the resolution of their own international affords them the right to do so, while the decision on this question depends exclusively upon these parties themselves.

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In rejecting the proposal of the Comintern, the Executive Committee of the Socialist International refers to the fact that it had *itself* decided to take the necessary steps against war. We find the following the resolution of the Executive Committee:

"At a joint meeting held on October 12, 1935, the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International in full agreement with the International Federation of Trade Unions adopted a decision covering a series of steps to be taken to ensure a successful struggle against the fascist drive against Ethiopia and against the war danger in Europe."

What are these measures? The decision of the Executive, *first of all*, expresses satisfaction at the fact that the League of Nations declared Italy to be the aggressor. *Second*, the Executive Committee demands that the League of Nations should apply "immediate sanctions" against the attacking side. *Third*, it assures the League of Nations of the "most energetic support from its organizations in the application of sanctions". *Fourth*, it wishes the League of Nations to inform Mussolini and his government "that when a peace treaty is finally concluded on the basis of its aggression, there will be no advantages for Mussolini". The decision of the Executive Committee *ends* with the assurance that the Socialist International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International met the moral force of the working class and the might of its organizations at the disposal of the League of Nations in defense of peace and justice". This is all, full stop!

What do all these "measures" amount to? They amount to the

following: to appealing to the League of Nations to adopt measures of one kind or another; to supporting the League of Nations in measures of one kind or another; to placing the working class organizations at the disposal of the League of Nations for purposes of one kind or another. This means, *to make the entire struggle against war dependent upon the League of Nations. Thus, the world working class movement, the movement of all peoples against the war and on behalf of peace, is reduced to the role of an appendage, a lackey of the League of Nations.*

If the League of Nations would only give the minimum of guarantees that it would always, everywhere and in all cases, defend the cause of peace in the most consistent fashion, we could at any rate understand the viewpoint of the Executive Committee of the Socialist International. The League of Nations it is clear is not today what it was, say, five years ago. The Soviet Union, the only workers' state in the world, now belongs to the League of Nations. The two chief war instigators, fascist Germany and militarist Japan, are outside the League of Nations. The third chief war instigator, fascist Italy, has now been declared the aggressor by the League of Nations. And of course a front has been formed inside the League of Nations of those capitalist states which for one reason or another do not want a war for a new division of the globe. All this is true. Nevertheless, the League of Nations remains still a body in which the majority is composed of *capitalist and imperialist states*. And the international proletariat *cannot hand over* the decision of its fate and the fate of world peace to these factors. Therefore, the line of the Executive Committee of the Socialist International is incomprehensible and incorrect when it urges the international working class movement *in that direction*. It is just the same as advising the traveller to follow a will-o'-the-wisp. Where would we be leading him? Into a swamp, to destruction.

We Communists, of course, also want the League of Nations to adopt all economic and financial sanctions against fascist Italy, and against any other imperialist instigator of war. We, Communists, will not of course reject such a weapon, as *pressure* upon individual governments and upon the League of Nations to *force* them to act as the people demand. But what can have most effect upon the Ministers who hold portfolios in different governments and, consequently, upon their representatives in Geneva? The leaders of the Socialist International tell the workers to draw up and to pass resolutions demanding that their governments and the League of Nations adopt sanctions against Italy, that everything will end at that point. If this was the position in actual practice, everything would be quite simple. But unfortunately, the position is not so simple. Many resolutions have already been written. But Mussolini continues to wage war and to obtain from abroad munitions and all other material requisite for the conduct of warfare. Is it not clear that the proper effect cannot be obtained from *declaratory* demands alone presented to individual capitalist governments, and, thereby to the League of Nations? Is it not obvious that the international working class must choose *another* method, another means of action, that on the one hand they must do their utmost with their own forces to paralyze the fascist aggressor and, on the other hand, by means of this *independent action*, at the same

me compel both the governments of their own countries and the League of Nations to adopt proper and effective measures against the fascist aggressor? And this method is the *unity of independent anti-war action by the workers of all political opinions and of all opponents of war*. Here, of especial importance are all the measures adopted and carried out by working class organizations in pursuance of the slogan: *not a single train, not a single ship in support of the Italian war in Ethiopia*. Those who want to bring pressure to bear upon the capitalist governments and the League of Nations in which there is a capitalist majority, must, *by the force of proletarian action*, confront them with the *accomplished fact*, because only by doing so can they be forced to act energetically in the interests of peace. Only in this event will the international working class movement not be an appendage, a slave of the League of Nations, but a *driving force* which will have a decisive influence on the trend of events.

However, it was just upon the most important questions of the *independent anti-war action of the working class* that the Socialist International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International failed to adopt any concrete decisions. All the more irresponsible is the refusal to accept the proposal of the Comintern to organize a joint anti-war campaign. This refusal aims at declining to adopt any anti-war action *at all*.

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There is no reason to doubt that the reactionary leaders of the Socialist International, in rejecting joint action by the two Internationals, have delivered a heavy blow against the international anti-war movement, have encouraged all the fascist war instigators to new bloody adventures and have thus taken upon themselves a serious responsibility before the whole of the working class. However, the opponents of the united front make a mistake if they imagine that their refusal exhausts the whole question of international united action. Nothing of the kind! This question is being raised today by millions and tens of millions of people. A handful of reactionary leaders can delay, postpone or communicate a positive solution of this question, but it is not within their power to prevent it finally. The question of international unity of action will be solved! And will be solved in the *affirmative*!

The number of supporters of the united front is steadily growing in the camp of the Socialist International. We have proof of this in the fact that only the representatives of five parties, dared to say "no" in such a serious situation. But in these five parties as well there are not a few supporters of the united front, and in these parties resistance to the technique of reactionary leaders is growing. It is essential that all who are striving for united working class action should use their united forces to secure the realization of the will of the supporters of the united front inside the Socialist Parties. The working class cannot allow a handful of reactionary leaders to bring disruption into its ranks at such a serious historical moment.

Because of the splitting work and the sabotage of the opponents of

united front, the anti-war campaign of the toiling masses is not being developed properly, as the situation requires. Therefore the advocates of peace and of united action must multiply their efforts. If as a result of the resistance of the representatives of the five Social-Democratic Parties it has not yet been possible to reach agreement between the two Internationals on the question of international action against war, it must be arrived at on a national scale and in the districts. And what is required is not mere agreements but *energetic* action. All the supporters of peace must take account of the following: if international public opinion, if all the classes and peoples who stand for peace, prove unable today to offer energetic resistance to the Italian warmongers in the bloody business in which they are engaged, then the warmongers in other parts of the world will be encouraged very quickly to follow the example of this war adventure, and then the present Italian war in Ethiopia may become the prelude to a new world war. If this is to be avoided, it is essential, *at all costs*, in all localities, in all countries and throughout the whole world, to bring about united working class action. The entire international Communist movement must strive to achieve this end, day in and day out, stubbornly, untiringly, and regardless of all difficulties. We shall not withdraw! International united working class actions will be achieved!

Results of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International

(Report at Meetings of Leading Party Workers in Moscow and Leningrad)

By D. Z. MANUILSKY

THE Seventh Congress of the Communist International came together on the verge of a great turn in the lives of the peoples, a great turn in the relation of forces between the socialist world and the capitalist world, a turn in the inter-relations between the capitalist states, a turn in the alignment of class forces in each separate country, a turn in the world working class movement, and in the liberation movement of all toilers.

In the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and its Leninist Central Committee, under the leadership of the mighty leader of the toilers, Comrade Stalin, socialism is victorious finally and irrevocably. This victory has strengthened the land of the proletarian dictatorship economically and politically, and is opening up very wide prospects of the further socialist industrialization of the U.S.S.R., and of an unheard-of advance in the material and cultural well-being of the masses. It has firmly won the support of the widest masses of the people for socialism, has strengthened the position of the international proletariat and of all toilers in their struggle against the offensive of capital, fascism and the menace of imperialist war. The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is revolutionizing the toiling masses and calling forth a mighty movement for socialism throughout the whole of the capitalist world.

In the capitalist world, moves have taken place of an international and internal character, under the destructive influence of the world economic crisis. The world economic crisis has been raging for about six years, intensifying the exploitation of the working class to a tremendous degree. It has increased the unemployed army many times, has overwhelmed millions of peasant farms and ruined entire countries and peoples. It is difficult to express in words the terrible distress which the crisis has brought to the masses of the people. These calamities are having a particularly hard effect on the conditions of the masses at the present time, when the social and political consequences of the economic crisis are being displayed to the full.

But at the same time, certain changes have been marked in the very development of the world economic crisis. Undoubtedly *a certain improvement is to be observed in the economic situation* as compared with 1932, but this improvement is of a very uneven character. There are countries where production has passed beyond the pre-crisis level of 1929; there is another type of big countries, such as the U.S.A. and Germany, where production has only reached 86-87 per cent of the pre-

crisis level; and finally, in such countries as France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland, production is marking time around the lowest point reached by the crisis.

On the basis of these data, can we draw the conclusion that the capitalist world has emerged from the phase of depression, and that the economic crisis has been left behind? No! We cannot make such a conclusion today. We must not do this because, even in those countries which have passed beyond the level of production of 1929, signs are to be observed of a new onslaught of the crisis. If we take 1929 as the index of the highest point reached by production in the pre-crisis period, then world production in the year 1932 amounted to 66 per cent of that year, while now, in the first half year of 1935, the figure is 86 per cent. It is as though the world crisis is *halfway* between the lowest point reached by the year 1932 and the high pre-crisis level of 1929. The agrarian crisis continues, although in a somewhat modified form; world foreign trade, by comparison with 1929, has been cut down by two-thirds; although the financial crisis is not of such a sharp form as in the years passed, it has not been overcome. This may be seen not only in the inflation in Italy and in the devaluation of the currency in Belgium, but also in the threat at devaluation in Germany and France. The general post-war crisis of capitalism has not only not been weakened, but has been deepened and sharpened as a result of the world economic crisis.

It is, however, not excluded that a further improvement of the condition of capitalist economy will take place in the near future. But, even if capitalism succeeded in temporarily improving the economic situation, it will not succeed either in achieving that relative stabilization which followed on the first round of wars and revolutions, nor in overcoming its general post-war crisis. Capitalism is like a sick person doomed to death, whose general condition grows continually worse, although there are periods when the hopelessly sick person feels better.

The feverish preparation of imperialist war also bears witness to the general worsening of the conditions of capitalism. A regrouping of the capitalist states has taken place, which is expressed in the wrecking of the Versailles system and in the collapse of the Washington agreement. Germany, the victim of the imperialist Versailles, and surrounded by the sympathy of the world working class, no longer exists, but a Germany exists which is the buttress of fascist obscurantism and reaction, which has established a barbarous regime on the bones of the German workers, and which calls forth the burning hatred of the toilers throughout the world. Weimar Germany no longer exists, but there is a fascist Germany which threatens to crush other peoples, which is feverishly arming itself, and which is the instigator of new imperialist wars, and which is furiously preparing war against the land of the Soviets. France, the chief inspirer of Versailles, and which for many years stood at the head of the preparations for a crusade against the U.S.S.R., has suffered defeat not only in respect to its Versailles policy, but also in respect to its policy of intrigue against the land of the Soviets, and has been compelled to collaborate with the U.S.S.R. in preserving peace. The Little Entente countries, which were utilized after the World War by French imperial-

as a barrier against the international influence of the U.S.S.R., are more and more turning against fascist Germany, which threatens their independence, and are seeking support against the aggression of German imperialism in the land of the Soviets grown strong. The imperialist countries which are not interested in war today cannot, in face of the growing aggressiveness of the imperialist-fascist countries, Germany and Japan, and in the recent period, Italy, ignore the U.S.S.R., which is the bulwark of peace and the liberty of the peoples.

In the Far East, the Washington Agreement which, throughout the pre-war period determined the relationship of forces in the Pacific Ocean, has been annulled. By its occupation of Manchuria and its offensive on Northern China, military-fascist Japan has opened up the beginning of a new division of the globe. Japan is feverishly developing its industry, is concentrating its military forces in the districts of Manchuria and Northern China, is building strategic roads directed towards the boundaries of the U.S.S.R., and out of the Chinese territory it has created is creating a jumping off ground for an offensive on the land of the Soviets. It is not the League of Nations now which is the main force of imperialist wars, but those states which are breaking with it in order to free their hands so as to carry on robber wars, namely, Germany and Japan which have left the League of Nations, and Italy, which is preparing to leave it.

Corresponding to Versailles and Washington on the arena of international relations, there is taking place in the internal relations of the capitalist states the collapse of bourgeois democracy and the rise of a fascist movement. And this coincidence is not accidental, for the ripening of the conditions for imperialist wars is indissolubly connected with intensification of political reaction. In Germany, in the center of Europe, fascism has come to power and has established the most ferocious of all terrorist regime, directed against the toilers. The ruling classes of Austria and Spain have followed the example of Germany. In all capitalist countries, the fascist offensive on the vital interests and elementary rights of the toilers is developing. The capitalist world, as a result of the world economic crisis, has slid down a few stages more on the road of reaction, which strangles the peoples, and has brought back to life, in the twentieth century, the days of the inquisition, torture, the stake and mass murder.

Under the influence of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., under the influence of the consequences of the economic crisis in the capitalist world, and of the war which has begun in the Far East, and of the advent of fascism to power in Central Europe, *a change is developing in the minds of the widest masses of the working class and first and foremost among the Social-Democratic workers of the reformist trade unions.* This change is materially expressed in *the rise in the fighting capacity of the working class as regards the struggle against fascism and war, the scope of which are the scope of the anti-fascist movement in France and the armed struggle in Austria and Spain.* A further expression of this change is to be seen in *the mighty movement for united action of all sections of the working class, independent of what party and trade*

union they belong to. Although this movement for unity is now only in the very first stages of its development, it will inevitably grow and gather strength; the decisions of our Seventh World Congress will assist to a tremendous degree in bringing further successes to this movement.

This change is also manifested in the crisis of the *Second International*. We have in view the political suicide of the German Social-Democratic Party which not only cleared the way for fascism by the policy it pursued, but which, at the moment when Hitler came to power, capitulated and showed that it was not only not a Socialist Party, but was not a Democratic Party.

We also have in view the collapse of another most powerful party of the Second International, namely, the "Left" Austrian Social-Democratic Party, at the expense of which the Communist Party of Austria has increased its ranks in the last year and a half, and has, in the conditions of fascist terror, become a mass party today, with 16,000 members, whereas, prior to February, 1934, it only had between 3,000 and 4,000 members in its ranks.

We have in view further the growing differentiation in the ranks of the Social-Democratic Parties, the crystallization within them of a Left wing, which more and more sharply declares against class collaboration between the upper ranks of these parties and the bourgeoisie, and in favor of united action between the masses of workers in these parties, and the Communists.

Finally, the change in the working class movement is to be seen in the way the Sections of the Communist International have grown strong politically and organizationally. Now, there is practically not a single Party in the Communist International which has not either doubled or trebled its membership in the last two years. Even the Parties which have borne the terrible blows of fascism, such as, for instance, the German Communist Party, which has declined numerically, nonetheless have preserved a wide mass basis in spite of the terror. Fresh sections of workers, who have hitherto stood outside of any politics, are being drawn into the Communist movement. We have not had during all the years since the end of the World War, and the beginning of the October Revolution, such a movement towards Communism as we have at the present time.

Such are the basic moves in the international situation and in the working class movement which defined the basic tactical lines of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

What is the essence of these tactical lines of the Seventh Congress? The successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., which strengthen the position of the world proletariat in the struggle against capitalism, the collapse of capitalist stabilization which rendered difficult and continues more and more to render difficult the conditions of the bourgeoisie, the beginning of the passage of the main masses of the working class to the position of the class struggle, the growing urge of the Social-Democratic workers for the united front with the Communist Party—all these points are more and more transforming the international working class into an active force capable of exerting decisive influence over the course

of events within the various countries and on the world arena. The proletariat cannot now be satisfied by merely negating capitalism in a propagandist fashion, but, basing itself on the U.S.S.R., must carry through a policy of revolutionary activity profoundly hostile to the notorious policy of "reforming" the capitalist system as carried through by Social-Democracy, and which transformed the working class into an element dragging at the tail of the bourgeoisie. The policy of revolutionary activity is a policy of weakening the position of the bourgeoisie, of undermining the imperialist measures of the latter, and of undermining the onslaught being prepared by them on the U.S.S.R. It is a policy of destroying their offensive on the toilers, and their efforts to give their dictatorship a fascist form; it is a policy of strengthening the position of the proletariat. The concentrated expression of the internal and external aggressiveness of the bourgeoisie is to be seen today in fascism and war, and, when fighting against all forms of the bourgeois dictatorship, the proletariat must concentrate all their forces for the struggle against fascism as their worst enemy. In carrying on the struggle against the menace of imperialist war, the proletariat must concentrate their main fire against those states which are today the instigators and inciters of war. In this struggle, the proletariat must utilize all the contradictions in the capitalist camp, contradictions of the imperialist states on the international arena, and contradictions among the various groups of the bourgeoisie on the internal arena, and utilize these contradictions in a revolutionary fashion, not allowing themselves to be utilized by the bourgeoisie and thereby to have their position weakened.

In the struggle against fascism and war, the proletariat are in duty bound to extend the front of all possible allies to such social groupings, classes and nations as are by no means the supporters of the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor supporters of the social revolution. And there can be no doubt that such a purposeful policy of the proletariat, their active interference in the course of events, will turn to the side of the proletariat those sections of the toilers who, under the influence of the traitorous policy of Social-Democracy, have wavered in the direction of reaction and have ensured the victory of fascism in a number of capitalist states.

But all this demands of the Communist Parties that they make a corresponding reorientation. They must break with their old propagandist line to the effect that the Communists in the working class movement are only a fighting revolutionary opposition in respect to the mass Social-Democratic Parties and the mass reformist trade unions, bearing no responsibility as to what takes place in the working class. It is precisely because the Social-Democratic and reformist policy has gone bankrupt that it becomes possible for the Communists now more than ever before to carry through the revolutionary policy of the proletariat, and, at the same time, it is precisely on them that the responsibility for the fate of the working class movement now lies. They cannot be mere organizations for the propaganda of Communist ideas; they must become the most important factor in the political life of their respective countries and throughout the world. By their policy of revolutionary

activity of the proletariat, they must secure the liquidation of the consequences of those defeats suffered by the working class, to which the Social-Democratic policy led; they must lead the working class out of its condition of isolation and secure tangible successes in the struggle of the masses against capital, fascism and war, and prepare the conditions for the final victory of the working class over capitalism. Against the Social-Democratic hopelessness and lack of perspective, they must set the active perspective of struggle and victory, a perspective which raises the faith of the working class in their own strength and which implants in their minds the idea that the present rulers of the capitalist countries are temporary people and that the real masters of the world are the proletariat. Herein lies the essence of the decisions of the Seventh Congress.

Let us examine the basic lines of our Congress in greater detail.

I. THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

Our Congress was a Congress of *socialism victorious in the U.S.S.R.*

What does this victory of socialism imply from the point of view of our internal relations? It opens up a *new phase* in the development of our country. What constitute the specific peculiarities of this phase? First, the fact that the further development of the productive forces of our socialist economy is taking place and will more and more take place without those tremendous difficulties which hindered the growth of socialist economy in the first years of the reconstruction period, not to speak of the restoration period. The level reached in the socialist industrialization of our country enables us to overcome the elements of spontaneity in the remnants of capitalist economy and to raise the socialist planning of our national economy to a higher level than hitherto. Now, it is the *people* who are building socialism who are the decisive force in our further advance along the path of new socialist conquests. The Stalinist slogan to the effect that "cadres decide everything" represents that leap which, to use the words of Engels, our socialist country is making out of "the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom"! And this means that a whole number of difficulties which depended either on objective conditions (the backwardness of our country, technically and economically), or were connected with the reshaping of the economic group of small producers, have been left behind. Difficulties still remain, arising either out of the necessity of overcoming the remnants of capitalism in economics and in the minds of the people, or else out of the circumstance that we are surrounded by capitalist countries.

Second, by the socialist industrialization of our country, we have prepared the conditions for raising the material and cultural level of the masses to such a height as is unattainable by any capitalist country in the world. Our Party and the Soviet government now place in the center of their attention the *question of care for the human being*, and are advancing to the forefront that fundamental task of socialism on the successful solution of which, in the last analysis, depends the passage of tremendous masses of human beings to the side of socialism.

And if, hitherto, our difficulties on the one hand, and the fact of the efficiently rapid rise in the material standards of living of the masses, on the other hand, to a certain extent held back the masses from turning to socialism, now, however, in the new stage of our development, the attractive power of socialism is increasing, and socialism will more and more rapidly win millions of toiling people throughout the globe to its banner.

Third, the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. has brought about tremendous advances in the social and political spheres in our country. It has advanced far forward the construction of the classless socialist society. These advances, which have extended the social basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen the latter and thereby strengthen the position of the international working class in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. These advances have enabled the workers' and peasants' government, by decision of the Seventh Congress of the Soviets, to extend the bounds of the proletarian dictatorship still wider, thereby destroying the prejudices of the backward sections in the capitalist countries in relation to the proletarian dictatorship. These advances, which intensify the social and class uniformity of the Red Army, raise the defensive power of our country to a tremendously high level. Finally, they deepen the abyss between the socialist society, where class contradictions are more and more disappearing, and the capitalist world, where the contradictions grow ever greater.

In the sphere of international relations, the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. has increased the relative importance of socialist economy in the entire system of world economy, thereby weakening the position of capitalism. While this victory strengthens the proletarian state, it transforms the U.S.S.R. into a most powerful force in world politics as a whole. The role of the U.S.S.R. as a *factor of peace among the peoples* is growing. The peace policy of the Soviet Union is the policy of the entire international working class and of all toilers who hate imperialists, and who are engaged in a struggle against them. Thanks to this policy, the U.S.S.R. is becoming a center around which the classes, nations, peoples and states which do not desire war, and which are not interested in it, are mustered against war. The role of the U.S.S.R. as a *buttress of the freedom of the peoples* is growing. All the anti-fascist forces of the world instinctively turn to the U.S.S.R. as to the land of the most developed proletarian democracy. The peoples of those states where the relics of bourgeois-democratic liberties are still maintained are turning their glances towards the U.S.S.R. The peoples who are oppressed by the fascist dictatorship see the source of their liberty in the U.S.S.R. All those who defend human culture and are enemies of fascist barbarism are linking up their hopes with the U.S.S.R. The consciousness that there is a country where the proletariat has created a powerful working class state increases manifold the forces of the international working class, and serves as a source to raise their fighting power.

In 1927, Comrade Stalin said that victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. would call forth a mighty movement for socialism in all capitalist countries, and that in this sense it would be not only a victory for socialism

in one separate country, but a *victory on a world scale*. We, comrades, are fortunate enough to be alive in the epoch of this rising movement for socialism throughout the world, which no fascist terror and no wars can stop. Therefore, the resolutions of the Seventh Congress link up the new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution with the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. And, therefore, the perspective of the entire development of the world working class movement is inseparable from the further victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R. Therefore, all the focal points of this movement, all its tactical tasks, revolve around the central point of the consolidation of the U.S.S.R. *as the basis of the world proletarian revolution.*

II. A CONGRESS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM, THE WORST ENEMY OF THE WORKING CLASS

But against socialism in the U.S.S.R., which is growing stronger with every day that passes, there stands capitalism in decay. Against the state of the proletarian dictatorship of the land of the Soviets, there stand the states of bourgeois dictatorship in the capitalist countries. Against proletarian democracy, there stands fascism and its most barbarous variety, German National-Socialism. The international working class are mustering their forces around the U.S.S.R. as the buttress of freedom and liberty, as the fortress of the world proletarian revolution, and are mobilizing all their forces against fascism, and primarily German fascism, as the seat of war, of unbridled capitalist oppression and bourgeois counter-revolution. The Seventh Congress directed its main fire against fascism. It was a Congress expressing the tremendous anti-fascist wrath of the masses of the people, a Congress mobilizing the workers, peasants and small urban toilers on the widest possible scale, a Congress mobilizing the nations and peoples suppressed by imperialism.

Some people think that by concentrating our main fire against fascism we are weakening our struggle against the bourgeoisie as a class. Such an assertion is equal to somebody asserting that, by fighting against imperialism, we are thereby lowering the hatred of the masses against the capitalist order. Can any successful struggle be carried on against capitalism, if we do not sharpen the struggle against fascism? No! It is not possible, for fascism is more and more becoming the dominant political form of capitalism in the period of its general crisis. Humane and democratic capitalism no longer exists, but there is a capitalism which is barbarous and reactionary, a fascist capitalism, imperialist capitalism. Can a successful struggle be conducted against the bourgeoisie as a class, without directing our main fire against fascism? No! It is not possible, for fascism is the open and cynical form of the dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic and the most imperialistic elements of finance capitalism. By undermining the power of these elements, we undermine the position of the bourgeoisie as a class, for the bourgeoisie as a class are bound by indissoluble bonds to the most reactionary, the most chauvinistic and the most imperialistic elements of finance capital,

Some people think that when we raise the question of the united front between the Communists and Social-Democrats for the struggle against fascism, we are revising the Leninist estimate of the role of Social-Democracy as the main social support of the bourgeoisie, that we are thereby rejecting the Stalinist thesis to the effect that the fascists and Social-Democracy are not antipodes, but are twins. Is this so? In Germany and Austria Social-Democracy had not been the main social support of the bourgeoisie, but the antipodes of fascism, fascism would have come to power either in Germany or in Austria. To have ceased to be the social support of the bourgeoisie, and become the antipodes of fascism, meant not systematic retreat and capitulation to fascism, but a struggle against it, meant not to direct their blows against the Communists when fascism attacked the working class, but the establishment of a fighting alliance with the Communists for the struggle against fascism. But, by its entire policy of class collaboration, which cleared the way for fascism, Social-Democracy demonstrated the correctness of the Leninist thesis to the effect that Social-Democracy was not "the antipodes, but the twin of fascism". By its entire policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie, which assisted in disillusioning the masses in bourgeois Social-Democracy, and in favoring the development of the fascist movement, Social-Democracy confirmed the correctness of Lenin's estimate of Social-Democracy as being the main social support of the bourgeoisie. It was precisely because it was the *twin* of fascism and the *main social support of the bourgeoisie*, that Social-Democracy led the masses of the workers to defeat in Central Europe, and assisted the offensive of fascist reaction throughout the world. Thanks to this policy of systematic retreat before fascism, Social-Democracy in Austria and Germany placed itself in the position of being a party hounded and persecuted, and, thanks to this policy, hundreds of thousands of Social-Democratic workers and their organizations have now been outlawed. It is precisely because the working class, not only in Austria and Germany, but throughout the capitalist world, are beginning to break with the policy of the Social-Democratic twins, and are passing over to a policy which is the antipode of fascism, that they are demanding, because of this, that Social-Democracy should cease being the main social support of the bourgeoisie. This is the point of the developing united front movement throughout the world.

And the Communists would be empty doctrinaires, and not revolutionaries, if they did not take account of the movements taking place in the ranks of the working class and the Social-Democratic Parties, if they did not, by their united front tactics, help the best elements in these parties and among these masses to find their way to the fighting policy which is the antipode of fascism and to put an end to the Social-Democratic parties being used by the bourgeoisie as their social support. And it is precisely because fascism is the concentration point of all the hatred of the working class and the toilers for capitalism, accumulated for centuries, that we Communists make it the main target of the fighting action of the working class. By behaving thus, we not only do not relegate our struggle against other forms of bourgeois dictatorship to

a secondary place, but, on the contrary, by rallying the masses against fascism, we prepare the crushing of capitalism with all its forms of bourgeois dictatorship.

But, declares Social-Democracy, by behaving in this way, the Comintern is altering its former attitude to bourgeois democracy—from an opponent of bourgeois democracy, it has become its defender. Is this true? No, comrades, it is not true! We Communists were never absolute defenders of bourgeois democracy after the fashion of the Social-Democratic leaders, nor were we absolute opponents of it after the fashion of the anarchists.

We have approached the question of bourgeois democracy like revolutionary dialecticians, pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. For instance, in the years of the German revolution, in 1918-19, when a struggle was going on as to whether Germany should be a bourgeois republic or a Soviet republic, and when Noske shot workers down in the name of the defense of the bourgeois republic, at that period, bourgeois democracy was the banner around which all the counter-revolutionary forces in Germany gathered their forces. The same was the position with the slogan of the Constituent Assembly directly following our October Revolution. The Constituent Assembly would have been a step backwards by comparison with Soviet power, would have been a decisive stage along the path towards the restoration of capitalism in our country, and therefore the Bolsheviks disbanded the Constituent Assembly, because the Mensheviks, Social-Revolutionaries (S. R.'s) and the followers of Kolchak and Denikin mustered their forces around it. Had we come forward in defense of bourgeois democracy under these conditions, it would have meant coming forward in defense of the bourgeois counter-revolution against the proletarian revolution.

The position now is quite different. Now the proletariat in the majority of countries are not faced with the question of bourgeois democracy or proletarian dictatorship, but with that of bourgeois democracy or fascism. Now, the slogan of bourgeois democracy is a step forward by comparison with fascism; now, under this slogan of the struggle against fascism, wider sections of the people can be drawn into the movement than under the slogan of the direct struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, the Communists are absolutely correct when, in a number of fascist countries or in countries moving in the direction of fascism, they advance the demand of the calling of national constituent assemblies, with a view to rallying the masses against fascism.

But the Communists would have committed a crime before the working class had they utilized the criterion applied in approaching bourgeois democracy in the revolutionary period, in the period of capitalist stabilization as well when bourgeois democracy was not threatened directly by the fascist menace, and when it and not fascism represented the main form of social reaction, and when the bourgeoisie operated their domination by its means and not by means of fascism. In this period the working class carried on the struggle against the Weimar republic, not because it was a republic but because it was a bourgeois republic which strangled the strikes of the working class, and which shot down workers'

monstrations with the hands of Zorgiebel, and disbanded such anti-fascist organizations as that of the Red Front Fighters' Union and cast revolutionary workers into jail.

However, neither the Communists nor the working class of Germany could maintain such a negative position in relation to the Weimar republic when the fascist movement began to develop at a stormy pace, and when the menace of the seizure of power by fascism began to come to a head. And if we can now criticize the position of our brother Communist Party of Germany it is for the fact that it was late in changing front in relation to the Weimar republic, by continuing to repeat phrases when the situation had changed.

If the Communists prefer bourgeois democracy to fascism, say the Social-Democrats, then consequently they also become supporters of the policy of the "lesser evil". Yes, we Communists prefer the "lesser evil" to the greater evil. But it is not this that divides us from Social-Democracy. We expose the Social-Democratic policy of the "lesser evil" because it meant *the betrayal of bourgeois democracy and direct assistance to fascism*. Call to mind the position of German Social-Democracy in the period of the Bruening government, a government which prepared the way for the fascists to power. This government issued decrees which cut down wages, which reduced the political rights of the workers and which brought the Weimar republic closer to fascism. German Social-Democracy supported these decrees in the name of the policy of the "lesser evil". But was such the line of behavior of the French Communists and Socialists in relation to the French Bruening, the Doumergue government? No! They fought against similar decrees in France and by their united front struggle secured the overthrow of the Doumergue government and inflicted defeat on the French bourgeoisie. German Social-Democracy formed a bloc with Bruening against the Communists, whereas the working class Socialists and Communists of France formed a bloc against Doumergue. Herein lies the difference.

In face of fascist violence German Social-Democracy demoralized the masses by calling on them to remain within the bounds of legality, and therefore did not defend bourgeois democracy but handed it over to fascism to tear to bits, while the French Communists who did not reject parliamentary methods of struggle, and set extra-parliamentary means of struggle into the forefront, therefore defended bourgeois democracy in deeds and not words, and inflicted defeat on fascism. It is for this reason that we have different results in Germany and France.

III. A CONGRESS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR, FOR PEACE, AND IN DEFENSE OF THE U.S.S.R.

But the international working class has grounds of foreign policy concentrating the entire force of its blow against fascism. All modern capitalist states, both fascist and bourgeois-democratic, are imperialist states, but it is the fascist governments which operate the most aggressive imperialist policy, and cynically trample on all agreements

and introduce the bandit methods applied in their home policy into the sphere of international relations.

The growing menace of a world imperialist war leads to the differentiation of all the forces of classes, people and states, into two camps, namely the *war camp* and the *peace camp*. *Fascism* is the center of the forces which are working for war and for speeding up its outbreak; in Europe the most reactionary and aggressive form of fascism is Hitler Germany, and in Asia, military-fascist Japan. Never as at the present time have the masses of the people, workers, peasants, urban toilers and all honest supporters of peace, felt so sharply that fascism means war. Germany is now threatening all its neighbors in its efforts to secure the hegemony in Europe. Japan, which has announced the special mission of Japanese imperialism in Asia, is already carrying on war in China. Both Japan and Germany are directing the main force of their aggression against the U.S.S.R. Italy stands armed to the teeth on the borders of Ethiopia, attempting to secure its position in the Mediterranean Sea.

The U.S.S.R. is the center of the forces which are fighting against war and its instigators, and is rallying not only the international proletariat around itself, but also other classes as well as the weak nations and peoples which do not want war.

In these conditions the Seventh Congress of the Comintern did not adopt the point of view that an *equal and like* responsibility falls on all the capitalist states as regards unleashing imperialist war, but *concentrated its blow* against the fascist instigators of war, namely, Germany, Japan and Italy.

But we may be told that this line of the Seventh Congress is akin to the position of those who during the first imperialist war, on the basis of blue, white and yellow books, etc., sought for the "main culprit" responsible for beginning the war, whereas in actual fact all the imperialist participants in that war bore an equal and mutual responsibility for it. It is stupid to compare the situation that existed during the first imperialist war of 1914 with the present situation. Now, the U.S.S.R. exists, a country where socialism is victorious, and which fundamentally alters the purpose of imperialist contradictions. Now, the division of the globe into the world of socialism and the world of capitalism is the main contradiction in the world. The world proletariat now have something to defend, namely, their own proletarian state. On the other hand, fascism now exists, which is the most rabid form of bourgeois reaction and imperialist aggression, and which brings enslavement to its own and other peoples, and is directed against the U.S.S.R., the land where socialism is victorious. All this did not exist in the period of the first world imperialist war. How, then, is it possible to establish an abstract "level" in approaching the menace of imperialist war at the present day? Now, *the interests of the defense of the U.S.S.R.* determine the basic line of the world proletariat in relation to war, whereas in 1914 the best proletarian revolutionaries stood for the defeat of their own imperialist governments in the war. Now, the position of the struggle against Germany, Japan and Italy, as the instigators of world war, is a really revolutionary position, one in the interests of the world proletariat, in

the interests of the preservation of peace among the people, whereas in 1914, the theory of the "culprits" served as a cover for the imperialist aims of the bourgeoisie of their respective countries. In the struggle for peace what is now needed is a *profoundly* concrete approach to the position of the various countries corresponding to the regroupings that are taking place in the camp of the capitalist states.

The old criterion with which we approached the relations between the capitalist states in the period of the establishment of Versailles is now of no use. The question therefore of our attitude towards the League of Nations takes on a new guise.

There can be no doubts that the League of Nations bears the full responsibility for the position which has now arisen in the capitalist world. The League of Nations as the bearer of the Versailles system ended German fascism and has led to the menace of a new imperialist war.

But now, when the Versailles system is falling to pieces, the role of the League of Nations as a weapon of the policy of Versailles has been reduced to a considerable degree. The exit of two of the most aggressive fascist states, namely Germany and Japan, from the League of Nations and the fact that the U.S.S.R. has joined it—all this changes the character of the League of Nations. The possibility now arises of setting the capitalist states which are members of the League of Nations against the fascist warmongers, the possibility arises of utilizing the League of Nations in the interests of the preservation of peace. Just as the masses by their actions within their respective countries exert pressure on the parliaments and compel them to adopt various measures, so it is possible for the masses to exert pressure on the League of Nations and so to bring about the preservation of peace in the sphere of international relations.

Making its starting point this concrete approach to the role of the various states, the Congress adopted an exceptionally important decision regarding the defense of small peoples and weak states, the independence of which is threatened by fascist aggression. It would be incorrect to place the small peoples and powerful imperialist robber states in the same category on the grounds that both of these are capitalist states. The Seventh Congress, therefore, announced the right of the small peoples and the weak states "to defend their national independence" against the onslaught of big imperialist states. The Congress with all the power at its disposal stressed the fact that war by the national bourgeoisie of such a country against an imperialist aggressor can take the *character of a national-liberation war*, and it would be the duty of the Communists in such a case actively to interfere in the armed struggle for national independence, to be in the front ranks of the struggle, and to assist in every possible way in bringing about the defeat of the imperialist enemy. But then, the Communists must, first, strive to transform the war for national independence into a *real war of the people*, after the example of the Chinese Soviets, must aim at arming the entire people so as to carry on the war in a Jacobin and revolutionary fashion.

Second, with a view to drawing in the entire toiling people into the best, most effective and revolutionary defense against the imperialist

enemy, the Communists must fight with all their power to *extend the democratic rights and liberties of the masses of the people, to consolidate the economic position of the workers, peasants and the entire laboring population, and to ensure full and real equality* for the national minorities. Unless this condition is fulfilled, victory of a people's war is impossible.

And, third, the Communists will have to call on the entire people to *keep a sharp eye on their own bourgeoisie*, and to organize the toiling masses against those who are traitors to their native land and people. The Communists must, in such a war, expose the national bourgeoisie, not because they carry on the war, but because they carry it on with insufficient determination and energy, with worthless capitalist means, striving to come to an agreement with the imperialist enemy out of fear of the masses of the people.

But not only must there not be a "leveling" attitude in our approach to the peculiarities of each separate country; neither must it exist in the tactics of the Communist Parties who are engaged in activity in absolutely varying conditions. The tactics of the Communist Party which is in power, and the tactics of the Communist Parties which are only advancing to the conquest of power by the working class, may be identical not on all occasions, whereas in 1914 when the U.S.S.R. did not yet exist, defeatism was the tactics obligatory on proletarian revolutionaries in all countries which took part in the war.

In his report at the Seventh Congress, Comrade Ercoli showed that the position of the Communist Party which is in power in the land of proletarian dictatorship and the position of the Communists who are organizing the working class for the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship may not coincide.

Call to mind, comrades, how the bourgeoisie recently, followed by the Socialists, attempted to find "contradictions" between the declaration made by Comrade Stalin in his talk with Laval and the position of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, especially of the French Communist Party which voted against war credits and against military measures of their "own" bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie and the Socialist press falsely asserted that the declaration made by Comrade Stalin which serves the cause of peace between the peoples, would not be understood by the French proletariat.

How did the toiling masses, and primarily the workers of France, reply to this assertion? Did they understand that the policy of peace pursued by the U.S.S.R. and directed against fascist aggression serves the interests of all peoples, the interests of strengthening the position of the proletariat? Ten days after the publication of the news of the conversation between Comrade Stalin and Laval, the municipal council elections took place in Paris and its suburbs. The French working class and the wide masses of the toilers replied by so increasing the number of votes cast for the Communists as to exceed all expectations. By their votes the toilers of France stressed the point that they fully endorsed the policy of peace as carried through by the proletariat of the Soviet Union, and perfectly well understood the difference between the position

of the Soviet Union and the position of the French Communists.

And what is the position of the French Communists?

The French proletariat are vitally interested in the strictest observation of the Franco-Soviet agreement, which serves the interests of general peace, against the fascist warmongers. But the French proletariat and the French Communists concluded no agreements whatsoever with their "own" bourgeoisie. The French bourgeoisie may attempt at any moment to advance their army against the working class. This army serves not only to defend France against German fascism, but also serves the imperialist aims of suppressing the colonial peoples. Among the French officers there are a number of fascist elements who are dreaming of a fascist *coup d'état* in the country, and who are striving to bring about an agreement with German fascism at the expense of the people of France. Therefore, the French Communists declare that they will vote against war credits, against all measures of a military character carried through by the French bourgeoisie. At the same time they expose and will insistently continue to expose to the wide masses the zigzags and waverings of the bourgeois politicians of the fascist and semi-fascist brand who attempt to come to an agreement with German fascism.

Here, comrades, is another example, which shows the special position occupied by the Party which is in power, a position which if not understood can lead one to make a whole number of mistakes when working out the tactical line. I refer to the slogan of the boycott of Italy in connection with the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.

The Second and Amsterdam Internationals advance the demand to the League of Nations that sanctions should be applied to fascist Italy as the violator of peace. But can they guarantee that all the states belonging to the League of Nations will apply such sanctions to Italy in a *really collective fashion*, really conscientiously and without deceit? Of course not. But all the reactionary elements of Social-Democracy demand of the proletarian state that it should apply sanctions first and foremost.

But imagine that the bourgeois states do not operate such sanctions, and that the U.S.S.R. will be the only state to follow the advice of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. Who would gain from this? The capitalist states which would continue to maintain relations with Italy. Who would lose from this? Not Italy, but the U.S.S.R. In actual fact, the boycott would be turned not against fascist Italy but against the socialist land of the Soviets. Such a measure as the closing of the Suez Canal demanded by the Second and Amsterdam International follows the line of the interests of British imperialism, which is displaying a very suspicious love for the "independence" of Ethiopia. But the Communists have no desire to drag at the tail of the policy of Italian fascism nor to be in tow to British imperialism. Will it not be better, therefore, if the Communists transfer the main weight of their activity to the independent action of the masses under the slogan of "Not a single train, not a single ship, for the support of the Italian war in Ethiopia" without, of course, refusing to exert pressure on the League of Nations as a subordinate means of struggle.

This is the position as regards differences in tactics.

The new situations demands that the question of the *perspectives of the struggle of the toilers against war* be raised in a somewhat different fashion. The old stock phrases which taste of pure propaganda are of no use in this case. It is an undoubted fact that as long as *capitalism exists, wars are inevitable*, but it is also indubitable that we cannot satisfy ourselves with this statement of an absolutely correct thesis, and fold our arms in a fatalistic fashion and wait for a new imperialist war. We have greater possibilities now for carrying on a successful struggle against imperialist wars than on the eve of 1914. There now exists a state of the proletarian dictatorship which stands on guard in defense of peace and which is growing stronger with every day that passes. This state now has a powerful Red Army, as a weapon of the struggle of the international proletariat for peace. There now exists a world party of the working class in the shape of the Communist International, which will not give way in face of war as the pre-war International did. Following the experience of the war of 1914-18, a specially profound hatred of war is now developing and extending among the masses of the workers, in a situation where the war danger is growing. The world proletariat now base themselves on the U.S.S.R. and make use of the contradictions between the capitalist states, and it is thus possible for them to establish a people's front on a very wide scale against war, including in this front not only other classes but also weak nations and peoples, the independence of which is threatened by war. Now, thanks to the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the international proletariat are able, in the struggle against war, to make use of the position adopted by those big states which for various reasons do not desire or are afraid of war. And all this demands of the Communist Parties that they not only conduct propaganda against war but also a real anti-war policy, the most important condition of which is the mustering of all the forces of the working class. Unless such a mustering of the forces of the proletariat takes place, it will be impossible to carry on a successful struggle against war or to carry on a struggle against fascism which is now kindling the flames of war.

IV. A CONGRESS OF STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

A. *The United Front.*

That is why our Congress was a Congress of struggle for the *unity of the international working class movement*, for *unity of action*, for *trade union unity* and for *political unity*. Let us first consider questions of the united front. The essence of the united front lies not in formal agreement between two parties (Communist and Social-Democratic) which suspend the struggle against each other, during the period of the operation of the agreement concluded in order to divide up "spheres of influence" in the labor movement. There, so to speak, is your sector—here is mine—let us not interfere with each other so that we may live

quietly, in a neighborly fashion without any commotion and offense. This is how the question can be placed by petty-bourgeois people, who treasure their own quiet and unperturbed lives, but not by people who serve the interests of the working class. Agreements and pacts are secondary matters. The main point about the united front is joint action by the workers of various political trends against capital, the common enemy, *action presupposing the transition of the Social-Democratic workers to the position of the class struggle*. Without such a basis, without the *class struggle*, there can be no united front. And, in as much as great masses of workers in the capitalist countries are organized in the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist trade unions, and, since these masses are bound by the party and trade union discipline of these organizations, agreements with the latter are consequently necessary in order to unleash the struggle of the masses through the united front against the offensive of capital, fascism and war.

Neither must we imagine that the main thing in the united front is the exposure of the reactionary elements of Social-Democracy. Exposure of those elements who disrupt the struggle of the working class is necessary, because it is impossible to carry on a successful struggle against capital unless resistance is offered to the strikebreakers who defend the interests of capital. But the exposure of such elements is not an end in itself—it is subordinate to the main aim of the united front, namely, the mobilization of the working masses for the struggle against capital.

The united front movement in France has provided an example of what in actual fact the united front should be.

You remember, comrades, how this movement unfolded. It began with the modest anti-war movement organized by the late Barbusse, a movement which developed intense activity after the advent to power of Hitler in Germany. The mad orgy of the fascist regime in Germany, which has clearly shown *what* fascism has in store for the working masses, the revival of activity by the French fascists encouraged by the easy victory of fascism in Germany, the feverish armament of German fascism which increased the alarm of the toiling masses of France as to the possibility of war, the growing gravitation of the latter towards the U.S.S.R., which becomes especially intensified after the change in the anti-Soviet line of the French government—all this created favorable ground for the development of the anti-fascist movement. On February 3, 1934, the French fascists, whose ranks were as yet insufficiently consolidated, decided to test their forces and to secure the overthrow of the parliamentary government. To this end French fascism made use of the sensational case of the adventurer Stavitsky, and came out into the streets under the slogan of the struggle against parliamentary corruption. A truly curious spectacle. The bearers of the most corrupt movement financed by the big capitalist magnates coming forward as the guardians of stern incorruptibility!

The Radical Deladier government called the police and gendarmes to its defense and to protect parliament which the fascists threatened to destroy. The result was several killed and several dozen wounded.

All the forces of reaction raised the cry that "they are shooting at the people!" Workers, you see, may be shot at, but it is forbidden to touch the whiteguard scum who destroy the workers' districts.

At the first moments, there was brief confusion in the ranks of the Communist Party. The fascist slogan, "Down with the Deladier government—the government of murderers!" did not at first meet with sufficient resistance from the Communist Party. In some places the Communists echoed the fascist cry for the overthrow of the Deladier government. But the Communist Party quickly got its bearings in the situation, and began to criticize Deladier not for having fired, but for *not having fired enough*, for having *capitulated* before the pressure of the fascist mob, for having burst into tears and resigned after he had learned of the clash between the police and gendarmes on the one hand and the fascist conspirators on the other hand. But what can we do? Such is the "heroism" of the present descendants of Mirabeau in defense of the bourgeois republic, who fear taking decisive action more than they fear fire.

Had the working class not been wide awake, this republic would have been betrayed, and betrayed at the hands of the republicans. The working class felt that it would depend upon its own determination in the struggle against fascism how determined the republican elements of the French population would be. On February 9, at the call of the Communist Party, the Paris proletariat arranged a counter-demonstration against fascism. In spite of the fact that the Socialist Party called upon its members not to participate in the Communist demonstration, the Socialist workers were on the Square of the Republic fighting valiantly along with the Communists against the police. Without pacts and agreements, in the situation red hot with political passions, the workers of Paris realized the united front in spite of the resistance of the Socialist leaders.

The sentiments of the workers throughout the rest of France were such that the leaders of the Socialist Party and reformist trade unions understood the necessity of giving them an outlet, otherwise the indignation of the masses would burst over their heads. For this reason the reformist Confederation of Labor called a general strike of February 12, and the Unitarian Confederation of Labor, which was preparing a political strike for February 7, in its turn, called on the workers to participate in the general strike. Seldom has any strike in the history of the working class movement taken place in such an atmosphere of sympathy from the widest mass of the population as did the strike of February 12, which covered about four million people and began at the same time as the armed struggle of the Austrian workers. Revolution was in the air. The bourgeoisie felt that the rope had tightened to the breaking point and that the working class would not permit fascism to come to power without struggle.

The February days were a *turning point* in the working class movement of Europe, one which determined the transition from the *offensive of fascism to the counter-offensive of the proletariat*. They undermined

the self-confidence of the bourgeoisie and raised the confidence of the proletariat in their own forces. They marked a sharp turn of the Socialist and reformist workers toward the position of the class struggle. In the fire of struggle they laid the basis for that unity of action which could not be broken down by any devices. At the Congress of the Socialist Party in Toulouse, in the spring of 1934, almost a third of the delegates voted for sending a delegation to Moscow to engage in negotiations regarding the establishment of unity of action. In actual fact, this vote of the upper section of the Socialist leaders bears witness to the fact that *below the overwhelming majority of the masses of the rank-and-file Socialists* are for the united front.

Nevertheless, while the leaders of the Socialists could no longer break down the movement of the united front, they still could, by their resistance, slow it down. It is well-known that on great fighting days the Socialist workers break party "discipline" with more ease than in the period of a certain lull following on heated battles. For this reason the Communist Party strove to secure the conclusion of a formal pact with the leaders of the Socialist Party on united action. The Right section of the Socialist Party maneuvered by getting the slogan of the organizational fusion of both parties against the slogan of the united fighting front. The Communist Party exposed this very crude maneuver of the opponents of the united front by putting forward concrete points as a platform for organizational unification, which subsequently became the decisions of the Seventh Congress on the question of the political unity of the working class movement. Finally, on July 27, 1934, a pact regarding unity of action between both parties was signed. Did this pact give positive results? Without a doubt. The working class and leaders of France have gained from unity of action, while the bourgeoisie and fascism have lost.

Unity of action has aided the French proletariat to beat back the latest attacks of fascism in France, to liquidate the Doumergue government, the government preparing a fascist dictatorship, and to weaken the onslaught of capital on the standard of living of the masses, particularly of the civil servants and workers employed in governmental and municipal enterprises. The establishment of the united fighting front served as the starting point for a tremendous movement in favor of trade union unity, which led to the unification of a whole series of trade union organizations, particularly among railroad workers, and which prepared the unification of both confederations in a single confederation of labor. The united front was the basis of the people's fighting front against the offensive of capital, fascism and war, a people's front, which succeeded in becoming the center of gravity of the anti-fascist forces among the other classes of the population. The French proletariat by their experiences have enriched the entire world working class movement, showing it that *timely* action (as distinct from Austria and Spain) against fascism enables unnecessary sacrifice and bitter defeat to be avoided. And, finally, the united front movement in France has placed the question of unity on the order of the day of the entire international working class movement. International Social-Democracy can

no longer wriggle out of the united front demanded by millions of workers all over the world.

B. Trade Union Unity.

The reformists cannot now wiggle out of the question of trade union unity which has become the *decisive task* facing the entire international working class following the Seventh Congress. And this is not a task of the *far future*, but a *burning question of today and tomorrow*, the practical solution of which will show how far we are able to fight for the carrying into life of the new tactical turn indicated by the Seventh Congress.

The solution of this task demands of us all the more persistence, energy and skilful approach, since in this field, in the field of the unification of the trade unions, the difficulties are greater and our successes as yet by far smaller than in the realization of the united front in the political field. And this is to be explained by the fact that while in comparison with the Social-Democratic Party our Party in the majority of cases represents a sufficiently considerable force, capable of exerting great pressure on Social-Democracy, in the trade union field we are weak. We have no large Red unions in the capitalist countries of Europe with the exception of France and Czechoslovakia. But even in these countries the relative strength of the Red unions as compared with the reformist trade unions is less advantageous for us than the relation of forces between the Communist and Socialist Parties. However, thanks to the fact that the Red trade unions in France were stronger than in other capitalist countries, they succeeded in breaking down the resistance of the reformist Confederation of Labor and in moving far ahead in the matter of the unification of the trade unions. But we cannot say this of the other countries where the Communists are now paying for sectarian mistakes committed over a series of years. We are lagging in respect to trade union unity, in carrying out the united front in the economic field, because we did not work as we should have done in the reformist trade unions.

Another reason why the united front is developing more slowly in the trade union movement is that it is easier to develop political struggles under the conditions of the economic crises, when there is an enormous unemployed army, than to organize strikes.

All these reasons have made it possible hitherto for the reformist trade union leaders to hold back the more rapid development of the united front in the sphere of the trade union movement. But this circumstance in its turn has been a brake on the further development and organizational consolidation of united front activity. The international united fighting front would have made enormous strides forward if it had been possible to bring about trade union unity.

The opponents of trade union unity are today trying to base their position, a position disastrous to the working class, on the alleged fact that such unity would not add much to the forces already in the Amsterdam International. These people usually advance the following argument: the Amsterdam organization has about nine million members and

the Profintern in the capitalist countries has a little more than one million, and this would allegedly give a total number of ten millions.

But such a way of placing the question is absolutely incorrect; it is purely mechanical. It reduces a problem of tremendous class significance into an empty arithmetical game. But, comrades, the unity of the working class movement is not arithmetic, it is a more complicated matter. Yes, and reformist arithmetic substitutes by subtraction or addition. For some reason it "subtracts" the 19,500,000 members of the Profintern covered by the Soviet trade unions from the total sum. These 19,500,000 represent not only themselves, but a country where socialism is victorious, a country where the proletariat is in power, and which utilizes this power in defense of the world proletariat. Just think that a force the world labor movement would represent if, in place of the reformist subtraction, we were to occupy ourselves with the revolutionary addition of all the forces of the organized working class. If we were to add the "division" which the bourgeoisie have succeeded in bringing about in the ranks of the organized working class movement, we would multiply the forces of this movement. And we would multiply these forces because we would approach the unity of the working class movement not in an arithmetical, but in a political, fashion.

The revolutionary trade unions would bring new life into the Amsterdam trade union movement, would activate it. The abolition of the split in the ranks of the trade unions would enable the working class to come out against the capitalist offensive as a single, consolidated, disciplined army; the capitalists would not be able to play on the split among the workers and utilize one section of the working class against another, and, under correct guidance, a single trade union movement would in most cases, ensure a successful outcome of the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers. The mere fact of unification would give rise to great enthusiasm not only among the organized, but also among the unorganized masses of workers, and this, together with the practical and tangible gains achieved in the struggle for immediate demands would as a result of unification entail a mighty influx of the very wide masses of unorganized workers into the unified trade unions. The French experience has already shown that in those places where trade union unity had been actually achieved, as, for example, among the railroad men, the urge of the unorganized workers for the trade unions immediately grows while the preservation of the split in the trade union movement not only hinders the development of united action, but also recruitment into the trade unions.

In the event of the establishment of a single trade union center on the basis of the fusion of the Amsterdam International with the Profintern, numerous autonomous, anarcho-syndicalist and Christian trade unions would be compelled to coordinate their action with the large united trade unions and in many cases would not even be able to reject the establishment of trade union unity. The latter point is particularly important for Spain where there is an important anarcho-syndicalist movement, and for Czechoslovakia where several trade union centers exist.

The adherents of pure arithmetic further do not see beyond the extent to which unity would raise the authority of the trade unions in the eyes of the unorganized workers, the extent in which it would increase the confidence of the working class to their organizations. Such a rise in the level of organization of the working class, such an increase in its fighting spirit, in its faith in its own forces, and such coordination in its struggle against capital would serve as a mighty barrier against fascism which is striving by all means—terror, bribery, social demagoguery and slander—to sow confusion in the ranks of the workers and to demoralize them.

We do not put forward any conditions for the realization of trade union unity. We only wish the unified trade unions actually to defend the economic interests of the working class, that the trade unions should not be transformed into organs of collaboration with the bourgeoisie contrary to their class purpose. And if this is adopted, than the question of trade union democracy will be automatically solved. Why is there no such democracy in the reformist trade unions? Why is the will of the masses of the rank and file in the trade unions crudely falsified? Why are individual members and entire organizations most devoted to the cause of the working class expelled? Because the reactionary reformist union leaders carry out a policy that corresponds neither to the class interests of the workers nor to their desires. If this policy is changed, if the trade unions become organs of class struggle, no one will need to suppress the will of the masses nor to expel the most active adherents of the class struggle. And we, Communists say openly and directly to millions of workers that *unless the bloc with the bourgeoisie is broken there can be neither stable trade union unity, nor trade union democracy.*

C. A Single Party.

But while a mere break of the bloc with the bourgeoisie is sufficient for the realization and stabilization of trade union unity, this is still not sufficient for political unity, which is a higher form of unity than the unification of the trade unions. The consolidation of the forces of the working class into a single political party is a much more difficult and complex task, than the realization of trade union unity. It arouses great doubts in our own ranks. What! Unite with the Social-Democrats!—ask some comrades perplexedly, but why, then, did we carry on an irreconcilable struggle against Social-Democracy throughout the entire post-war period? What was the need for all the tremendous amount of work done to Bolshevize the Sections of the Comintern, when we fight in our own ranks against opportunist deviation, that is, against the slightest deviations of the unstable elements in the direction of Social-Democracy? Are we not reducing to nought the whole of our political struggle of the past? No, comrades, we are not.

Had we not carried on the struggle during the entire post-war period against Social-Democracy, against all sorts of deviations in our ranks, for the Bolshevization of the Communist Parties, then we would never be able to set the question of a single party as we are doing at the

ent time. By our struggle against all forms of opportunism we have led the parties and established the basic Communist framework thanks which we can now courageously take into our hands the initiative of publishing a single working class political party.

In 1920 when Lenin wrote the 21 points (conditions), we could approach the question of working class political unity as we do now. Why? Because at that time what we had in the capitalist countries were propagandist Communist groups rather than Parties tested in struggle and enriched by Bolshevik Party experience. Recall the situation in one of the largest and most advanced of our Sections of that period—the German Communist Party—in 1920 after the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, which was torn by internal disagreements with the Lefts, with national-Bolshevism, and with the Rights of Paul Levy type, and with its huge ballast of Social-Democratic elements and waverings. Or let us call to mind the example of Hungary 1919; as a result of the fusion of the Young Communist Party of Hungary, politically still untempered and organizationally weak, with the big Social-Democratic organization, the Communist vanguard was dissolved in the petty-bourgeois elements of the Social-Democratic organization, and this was one of the most important reasons for the collapse of Soviet power in Hungary.

Now, as a result of the many years of struggle for the Bolshevization of our Parties which have achieved iron unity in their ranks, have been tested in the fire of great class struggles in many countries, and have undergone the test of underground activity, we can, in the given concrete situation, raise the question of the establishment of a single revolutionary party of the proletariat *in a new way*.

And such a statement of the question of the political unity of the working class movement is unfallible from the point of view of *principle*. The Communists are the Party of the proletarian revolution, the Party of the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. But unless the forces of the working class are united in the economic as well as in the political, it is impossible to achieve the victory of the proletariat. The split in the ranks of the working class movement only plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie and enables the latter to prevent the victory of the proletariat. On the other hand by the very fact of carrying on the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, the Communists prepare the complete realization of proletarian unity, because it is only under the dictatorship of the proletariat that the influence of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat will be liquidated and all possibilities of splitting the working class will disappear. It is for this reason that the Communists are the real bearers of the unity of the working class movement.

But can a party which stands for class collaboration with the bourgeoisie say the same thing about itself? By class collaboration with the bourgeoisie such a party splits the proletariat, thereby strengthening the position of the bourgeoisie, facilitating the defeat of the proletariat, disrupting the victory of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Anyone who, like these renegade elements of Social-Democracy, continues now as well to stand

for class collaboration, cannot fail to be an enemy of the unity of the working class movement, a conscious splitter of its ranks.

That is why only we, Communists, have the right to raise the banner of the political unity of the working class movement, the banner of a united revolutionary party of the proletariat.

But we, Communists, are not for unity of any kind, are not for unity at any price. Of what use is the fact that the Labor Party is "united", if this "unity" is utilized by the reactionary leaders of this party to support the policy of the bourgeoisie? Prior to the February events, Austrian Social-Democracy also prided itself on its "unity", but this unity did not stand the test in the first serious class battle. Such formal unity is to the detriment of the proletariat, it only hinders the transition of the Social-Democratic workers to the position of the class struggle out of fear of undermining such ostentatious unity. We Communists are for organized political unity on the basis of principle. We stand for such a united party of the working class as unswervingly serves its interests, the interests of the struggle for the *proletarian revolution*.

For this reason the Seventh Congress declared that the creation of such a party is possible only under the condition of

*"... complete independence from the bourgeoisie and the complete severance of the bloc between Social-Democracy and the bourgeoisie, under the condition that unity of action be first brought about, that the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets be recognized, the support of one's own bourgeoisie in imperialist war be rejected, and that the party be constructed on the basis of democratic centralism which ensures unity of will and action and has been tested by the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks."**

If we ponder over the conditions put forward by the Seventh Congress for the political unification of the workers' parties then it becomes clear that we are faced with the basic contents of the program of the Communist International. We do not advance the demand for the formal recognition of the program of the Comintern as a condition for unity because we want by making a correct approach to the Social-Democratic workers to render it easier for them to outlive many Social-Democratic prejudices, at the same time hindering the counter-agitation of the reactionary elements of Social-Democracy against the slogan of a single party. We do not add to the condition advanced by the Seventh Congress the demand that they should express their attitude toward the Soviet Union, because a sincere recognition of the "dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviets" also determines their position and relation toward the U.S.S.R. We do not put forward the demand for the struggle against the colonial policy of their own bourgeoisie because

* *Resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 37, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

the rejection of support for their own bourgeoisie in imperialist war" supposes, as something self-understood, the struggle of the Party against the most arrogant and cynical form of imperialist policy, namely, imperial policy.

We are frequently asked why we now put forward five conditions of unity and not 21, as at the time of the Second Congress of the Comintern. We are doing this because the five conditions advanced by the Fifth Congress cover the 21 conditions of the Second Congress, because the Comintern is now not threatened by the danger of being overwhelmed by centrism, because the working class has undergone the post-war experience of the policy not only of Right German Social-Democracy, but also of "Left" Austrian Social-Democracy, because there is not as yet an "influx" of Social-Democratic leaders into the ranks of the Comintern, but there are only indications so far of an influx of Social-Democratic workers to Communism, because our five conditions correspond to the thoughts and feelings of these workers.

Will it be bad if a discussion develops within the ranks of Social-Democratic Parties on the basis of the five conditions formulated by the Fifth Congress?

No, it will not be bad.

Will it be bad if hundreds of thousands of Social-Democratic workers declare that the program of Party unity as advanced by the Comintern is the program for which our class brothers have suffered in Germany, Austria and Spain, in battles and defeats and for which we are ready to struggle? No, it will be good.

Do the five conditions correspond to the interests of the very widest strata of the proletariat? Yes, they do and for this reason they will serve as a political platform for these strata in their struggle against the reactionary section of Social-Democracy, which resists all forms of unity, unity in action, trade union unity and political unity. Does this method of presenting the question regarding a single party give a perspective to the united front movement? Yes, it does. Without such a perspective the united front movement is as though without a rudder, because the Marxist-Leninists have always connected every movement of partial demands with our final aims. And the inter-relation between the united front and a single party reflects the inter-relations between partial demands and the final aim.

Two staffs in the movement are now inevitable, but this is a temporary situation conditioned by the split in the working class. The entire experience of the world working class and its struggles indicate that *the existence of a single staff of leadership is an elementary condition for the success of the struggle*. For this reason, by carrying on the struggle to the utmost for the development of the united front, the Communists will thereby prepare the conditions for all forms of unity of the working class movement, and for the creation of a single staff of this movement in the shape of a single party. The apprehension expressed by our comrades in regard to unity with the Social-Democrats are quite justifiable and have a basis, frequently the comrades who express these apprehensions make an

undialectical approach both to Social-Democracy as well as to the question of a single party. They take Social-Democracy as it was yesterday, or as it is today, without taking into account the processes of revolutionization which are taking place among the masses of the members of the Social-Democratic Parties; they regard unification itself from the point of view of a "fixed" relation of forces between the Communists and Social-Democrats in the working class movement. And this, comrades, is incorrect.

We must not view the question of a single party from the point of view of the position of yesterday or even of today in the labor movement. We must take the formation of a single party as a living dialectical process of struggle. We shall unite not with the Social-Democrats of yesterday, not with the people who are still floundering and wavering today, but with those class brothers of ours, who, on the experience of the struggle cemented together by bloodshed, alongside the Communists, will become convinced of our correctness and of the correctness of the program and tactics of the Communist International. The slogan of a single party is not a slogan of a combination between those who are at the top; it is a slogan of the struggle of the masses, of a struggle which is stubborn and hard, and which remoulds people and resurrects them in a revolutionary manner. We place this slogan before the masses because the Communist movement has reached maturity, because it can now set itself the task not only of Bolshevizing the Communist Parties, but of *Bolshevizing* the working class. Herein lies the political significance of the slogan of a single party.

(To be continued.)

The Margate and Brighton Congresses

By HARRY POLLITT

THE Trades Union Congress which was held at Margate in September, and the Labor Party Conference held at Brighton in the first week of October, can be said to have conducted their deliberations in a "threshold of war" situation, and the president of the Trades Union Congress was correct when he stated in his opening remarks that the Congress meets once more under the shadow of war".

These were the last annual conferences of the most important mass organizations of the British workers to be held before the coming general election. But the main aim that both these conferences should have had in mind—that of preparing and organizing the defeat of the National government at the coming election and the return of a Labor government—was completely lost sight of. Those who spoke at the conference were occupied by the Ethiopian situation practically to the exclusion of all else. And it was not seen that the carrying out of a correct policy in defense of Ethiopia and the preservation of the peace of the world requires that it be allied with the fight to achieve the workers' demands against the employers and the National government, and could have become the basis for developing a powerful mass movement against the line of the National government as a whole.

In neither of these conferences did this character of the workers' struggle receive any attention. The consequence was that while there was undoubtedly anti-war feeling in both conferences, many delegates were profoundly disquieted at the thought that their leaders were putting forward a policy in regard to Ethiopia that completely tied up the labor movement behind the National government. And these fears were unfounded. Let us call to mind the active participation of the Labor leaders in the May Jubilee celebration of the accession of King George, a celebration which was part of the National government's political preparation for war, and through which it succeeded to a very considerable extent in improving its political position throughout the country.

Also the fact that the *Daily Herald* day after day gave fulsome praise of the National government's policy at Geneva, strengthening the general illusion that the National government desired to create of itself, the defender of peace and the obstacle to Italian fascist aggression in Ethiopia. Many examples could be given from the line of the *Daily Herald* and from speeches of Labor leaders in connection with this. Perhaps the best to support the point we are making—and it is in no way an isolated instance—is the editorial from the *Daily Herald* of September 12, headed "The Voice of Britain", which dealt specifically with Sir Samuel Hoare's Geneva speech.

"Irrespective of party, irrespective of domestic conflicts, the overwhelming majority of the nation is firmly behind the government in the stand it has now taken on this issue."

This editorial did not vary from the line that ran through the speech of the president of the Trades Union Congress in dealing with the Ethiopian situation, nor in the opening and concluding remarks of Sir Walter Citrine, the secretary of the Trades Union Congress, for in neither of these speeches could one word be found criticizing the National government or ascribing to it the responsibility for the present international situation; no attempt was made to show how it has acted as a pacemaker for war, especially in its line of collaboration with Hitler Germany and the signing of the German Naval Agreement. Both speeches gave a lead for the complete identification of the trade union movement with National government policy; no differentiation was made, no independent plans outlined. The line was imperialist and not the slightest indication was given of the active policy the *trade union movement could pursue* in the fight to preserve the peace of the world.

The main point of the declaration on Ethiopia that the Margate Trades Union Congress adopted reads as follows:

"United and determined in its opposition to the policy of imperialist aggression, this Congress calls upon the British government in cooperation with other nations represented at the Council and Assembly of the League to use all the necessary measures provided by the Covenant to prevent Italy's unjust and rapacious attack upon the territory of a fellow member of the League. The Congress pledges its full support of any action consistent with the principles and statutes of the League to restrain the Italian government and to uphold the authority of the League in enforcing peace." (Trade Union Congress, *67th Annual Report*, p. 346.)

Readers in carefully noting the Congress declaration will not be slow in observing the following: there is not a single suggestion of working class action that could be carried out by engineers, railwaymen, dockers and seamen; no proposals are made for international working class action; no suggestions are there that the two trade union internationals should be brought together in a joint united international trade union campaign in which the whole forces of the organized trade unionists of the world could be mobilized to preserve peace. Every word in this declaration is directed towards bringing the Labor movement behind the policy of the National government and all that its policy represents at the present time.

It is also necessary to draw particular attention to the last paragraph of the declaration. Instead of clearly defining where the Trades Union Congress stood on the vital question of the independence of the colonial countries, it simply falls behind all the current imperialist propaganda that is now being served up to help in the defeat of the colonial masses, which says in effect that the imperialist robbers are anxious by "amicable means" to arrive at a more equitable distribution

the available resources of the world. This declaration, and especially Mr. Bevin's speech, opens out a perspective of a kind of round table conference, where there will be carved up and parceled out by big powers the raw materials and resources of colonial countries without any suggestion of, or regard for, the desires of the peoples of these countries. It is a suggestion with which the working class movement has absolutely nothing in common, and the negation of everything associated with the struggle against imperialism.

The policy of the General Council as expounded by Sir Walter Citrine did not go through without challenge. The Left-wing delegates brought out many important points and criticisms and made practical proposals which, while receiving good support from the delegates, were defeated by the operation of the bloc vote.

After much discussion the declaration was adopted: 2,962,000 voted for, 177,000 voted against.

* * *

It is important to note during the debates at the Trades Union Congress and the Brighton Labor Party Conference, the extent to which the hatred of fascism was revealed, especially on the part of the trade unionists.

Trade union speaker after speaker mounted the rostrum, both at Margate and at Brighton, and in passionate tones denounced the destruction of the trade union movement of Germany and the murder of trade union leaders.

We have to note the existence of this deep feeling and more seriously endeavor to organize it in a positive anti-fascist direction on the basis of the united front. Unless this is done it can be diverted to serve the imperialist aims of the National government, a danger against which the Communist Party is continually fighting, and not without effect, as subsequent developments within the labor movement have shown.

The Margate decision on sanctions aroused a tremendous controversy throughout the working class movement, and the divergence of views became clearer by the time the Labor Party Conference opened in Brighton. It has been interesting to observe the differences in the speeches of certain Labor leaders such as Mr. Morrison and Mr. Greenwood as compared with those of Citrine and Bevin in the intervening period between Margate and Brighton. The disquiet that was manifesting itself among the organized workers at the fear of being tied behind the National government compelled a certain change in the speeches of these leaders. Criticism of the National government crept in, and Mr. Morrison in particular began to develop more and more the point of utilizing the present situation as a medium for developing the struggle for the formation of a Labor government at the coming general election.

We can say that the effect of the propaganda of the line of the Communist Party in the columns of the *Daily Worker*, the mass sales of pamphlets, and at the meetings that the Party organized, succeeded in arousing the mass pressure which had its effect upon the Labor Party.

The masses will never forget what this National government has meant to them, how it has worsened their conditions, imposed the Means Test on them, brought into operation the new Unemployment Act, made big cuts in their wages, led the armaments race, developed its pro-Hitler policy. The workers hate and distrust the National government. That is why they are fearful about supporting any policy that seems in the slightest way to indicate support for the National government, and while their anti-fascist feeling is clearly reflected in the huge vote that has been given for sanctions against the war of Italian fascism in Ethiopia, it would be the most profound political error to suppose that those who were voting in this manner were in any way identifying themselves with any aspect of National government policy either at home or abroad.

The debate at the Margate Trades Union Congress brought home to the Communist Party the imperative necessity of doing everything possible to get its line thoroughly understood among the mass of the workers in order that influence might be brought to bear upon the Labor Party Conference which was to meet four weeks after the Trades Union Congress and to ensure that a clearer class line could be adopted at Brighton.

The Communist Party pointed out that the National government is an imperialist government taking a line in regard to the Italian military onslaught on Ethiopia that is taken only because vital British imperialist interests are at stake; that the National government—because of its interests in the Sudan, Egypt, India—opposes the aggressive policy of Mussolini in regard to Ethiopia because it would, if he was allowed to carry it through, be a menace to the vital interests of British imperialism; that the attitude of the National government in the League of Nations, as outlined in Sir Samuel Hoare's speech, is absolutely different from the attitude it took when Japan was doing the same thing in Manchuria that Italian fascism wants to do in Ethiopia. (Even while Hoare was mouthing protestations of peace, British bombing planes were murdering the peoples of the northwest frontier of India.)

The Communist Party declared that the resistance of the people of Ethiopia to Italian fascism is absolutely justified, and its character is that of a war of liberation, to which it is the duty of the peoples of the world who hate and fear the advance of fascism and war to give every assistance.

The Communist Party has explained that it was insufficiently realized that combined working class direct action for the preservation of peace and bringing about unity of all forms of action and resistance against Mussolini would result in two very important political facts:

1. The strengthening of the people of Ethiopia and the colonial peoples all over the world in the fight against imperialism;
2. The strengthening of the fight against fascism in Italy and Germany, *because of the knowledge the peoples of these two countries will have of the measures the rest of the world is willing to take to prevent the advance of fascism.*

We can only successfully carry through such a line when it is accompanied by the most ruthless exposure of the policy of our own

overnment. Therefore, the Communist Party advanced in this situation the following demands:

1. Stoppage of all war materials to Italy and refusal to load or unload any Italian ships at present in British ports.
2. No loans to Italy.
3. Removal of the ban on export of arms to the Ethiopian people in order that they can adequately defend themselves against imperialist aggression.
4. Closing of Suez Canal to all Italian transport.
5. Raising funds to assist the anti-fascists in Italy itself.
6. Demand for the surrender of all British mandates and British imperialist interests in Ethiopia.
7. The British Council of Labor to convene an emergency international conference of all working class organizations to mobilize worldwide support to defend the independence of Ethiopia.
8. Immediate organization of a nation-wide campaign of meetings, demonstrations, mass deputations to the Italian Embassy and Consulates throughout Britain, demanding the withdrawal of all Italian armed forces from Ethiopian territory.
9. Mass distribution of leaflets, especially among the workers in war and transport industries and among the armed forces, calling for solidarity with the Ethiopian people.
10. Election of Workers' Control Commissions in the war industries to supervise all war material contracts.
11. Support for the policy of sanctions as a means of preventing Italian fascists going to war against the Ethiopian people, and redoubled efforts to organize the defeat of the National government and secure the return of a Labor government on the basis of united struggle for the preservation of peace, the defense of democracy, and the improvement of the conditions of the workers.

We did not set our main task of organizing energetic action by the working class on an international scale, and of stopping the production and transport of arms for Italy, etc., against the subordinate slogans demanding that the government and the League of Nations adopt collective economic and financial sanctions against Italian fascism, in defense of the Ethiopian people. The viewpoint of the Communists on this question is absolutely clear.

"It is true that imperialist war is the product of capitalism, that only the overthrow of capitalism will put an end to all wars, but it is also true that by their militant actions the toiling masses can prevent imperialist war." (Dimitroff.)

Basing themselves upon the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and developing independent action against imperialist war on the basis of the united front, the working class can draw all toilers and entire peoples to the struggle against the fascist instigators of war. In this connection, pacts for the maintenance of peace, the statutes of the League of Nations, and non-aggression pacts, are all factors postponing war.

But the guarantee of the complete abolition of imperialist wars is provided by proletarian revolution alone and by the abolition of the prime cause of all wars—capitalism.

In the debate on sanctions at the Brighton Conference of the Labor Party a similar resolution to that adopted at the Trades Union Congress at Margate was adopted. And in this resolution nothing is said about the independent struggles of the working class against the Italian war on Ethiopia. At the Labor Party Conference, however, the lines of the fight became sharper in the sense that the Conference manifested three distinct tendencies on this issue. The line of the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, which was for sanctions without any criticism of the National government's policy, or any advocacy of separate class action by the workers, was along exactly the same lines as the Trades Union Congress. (In point of fact, the Executive Committee refused to allow a declaration against the imperialist aims of the National government to be introduced.)

Then there was the purely pacifist point of view expounded by George Lansbury, Dr. Salter and Lord Ponsonby, and the line of the Socialist League as outlined by Sir Stafford Cripps and William Mellor. In connection with the latter point of view it needs to be said that the representatives of the Socialist League were revealed as being completely isolated from the feelings of the mass of the delegates who attended this conference.

The line of the Socialist League was a negative one. The representatives of the Socialist League asserted that nothing could be done to defend the Ethiopian people, that the English working class have nothing left to do but to sit at home and study the causes of the war which is leading to the enslavement of the Ethiopian people. This position not only amounts to complete passivity, but affords tremendous practical support to the National government. What is fundamentally the same position but with the addition of a campaign of calumny against the Comintern has been adopted by the Independent Labor Party. Behind a veil of revolutionary phrases, the leaders of both these organizations are actually helping the war aggressors and the policy of the National government which is directed against the U.S.S.R. Sir Stafford Cripps, for example, tells his audience at the Brighton Labor Party conference that he has now "changed his mind about the League of Nations" and recognizes now that it is an "international burglars' union", forgetting the existence of the Soviet Union whose role inside the League of Nations has been one that has filled with gratitude all who strive for peace all over the world. This deliberate omission of the role of the Soviet Union in the League of Nations is not accidental either on the part of the Socialist League or of the Independent Labor Party. Cripps was for the League of Nations when the Soviet Union was outside the League; he is against the League when the Soviet Union is a member of it. Fortunately for the British working class movement, such organizations, with no mass connections, or mass influence, or record of mass struggles in any part of the country, are of very little significance at the present time.

In this critically urgent situation the Communist Party of Great Britain issued a letter to the Labor Party proposing that the Labor Party should take the initiative in calling a conference of the Second and the Communist Internationals for the purpose of framing a common policy of joint international action to defend the independence of Ethiopia.

Then came the appeal of Comrade Dimitroff on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International proposing an immediate conference between the two Internationals, in which he said:

"The common action of the two Internationals would mobilize the working class and would secure the support of the forces of peace among other classes of the population. It would draw whole peoples into the fight for peace. It would call forth an international movement against war of such a power that the League of Nations, under its pressure, would be compelled to undertake really effective action against the aggression of Italian fascism and German fascism. It is not yet too late to prevent the terrible catastrophe into which the fascist criminals want to hurl mankind. Tomorrow this may no longer be possible."

On the eve of their National Conference the Labor Party replied to the C.P.G.B. and declared that in their opinion no useful purpose would be served by such a conference as that proposed. The torn and mutilated bodies of thousands of Ethiopian people bear witness to part of the price that has been paid for this criminal refusal to lift a finger to bring together in a united movement the organized forces of the workers of the whole world.

While the Labor Party Conference was in session, Italy commenced its bloody war in Ethiopia. Its bombing planes wiped out thousands and dropped the message, "Accept Italian friendship or die", on those who were still left. The horror that seized every decent-minded citizen compelled us to make a further effort to try and get the Labor leaders to use their influence in the international labor movement to secure a suitable decision.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain instructed me to send a telegram to the chairman of the Labor Party Conference, as well as to a number of very prominent trade union leaders, which reads as follows:

"Chairman, Labor Party Conference, the Dome, Brighton. London evening newspapers declare: 'Adowa bombed, hundreds dead'. We beg you in the interests of humanity at once agree proposal Dimitroff for common action between Labor and Socialist International and Communist International stop It would draw peoples of world into fight prevent any further slaughter defenseless people of Ethiopia and would prevent any further extension terrible catastrophe into which the fascist criminals want to hurl mankind stop Workers of world if organized for common action can exert power compel immediate operation sanctions against Mussolini stop Will not British Labor leaders even at this late hour bring the two Internationals together stop Only

your influence now prevents this being done stop We appeal to you in all sincerity in this fateful hour of mankind that you now take initiative in achieving workers' international unity that can save the world.—Harry Pollitt."

The press reported the next day that the Executive Committee of the Labor Party had a special meeting to consider the situation, that they had passed a resolution demanding that Parliament be convened, but had refused to agree to the suggestion for common action between the two Internationals on the ground "that it was against their declared policy".

These leaders are anxious to summon a capitalist Parliament together, but are not going to do anything to bring together the powerful forces of the workers of the world.

No wonder that Comrade Dimitroff in his further appeal to the Second International writes:

"Any further delay in bringing about united action in the struggle against the war that has already begun would be fatal. Anyone who still hesitates or delays, in this grave hour, to unite all the forces of the working class and all the toilers, and to employ all means so that Italian military action against Ethiopia should be stopped, that the war should not spread to other parts of the world and should not become the prelude to a new world slaughter, *assumes an historic responsibility before the world proletariat.*" [Our italics.]

We are very conscious of our responsibility in this situation. We have not done half that the situation demands from us in trying to organize a really effective mass backing for the appeal of the Communist International. We must face this undeniable fact.

The British Labor leaders still play their role of sabotaging common action between the two Internationals only because the Communist Party of Great Britain has not yet succeeded in breaking through to the broad masses with its united front propaganda, and has failed to develop the mass pressure that could compel the leaders to accept proposals that now so strongly commend themselves to many sections of the Second International itself.

Our National Party Conference held on October 5, 6 and 7 self-critically examined the causes of these weaknesses, and set itself to overcome them in the shortest possible space of time.

We undertook the task of bringing about the most effective mobilization of the Party we have ever yet attempted. Every single member and local is being brought into action behind the campaign for the independence of Ethiopia, and the Manifesto that the Conference issued struck the note of this campaign where among other things it stated:

"People of Britain!

"Demand that the League of Nations applies sanctions now against Italy. Stop all fuel and war materials being sent to Italy. Stop all loans and other forms of assistance being sent to Italy. Refuse to load and unload all Italian ships, or to

transport Italian Blackshirts from Britain to Italy. Close the Suez Canal now to all Italian shipping.

"Working Men and Women of the Labor Movement!"

"You belong to a mighty labor movement. You wield tremendous power. You can force the National government to act at Geneva in the way that you desire. You can ensure that the British labor movement accepts the proposals of the Communist International for an immediate conference of the two working class Internationals to work out a common program and campaign that can restore and preserve the peace of the world!"

Because of the war question and the discussion created by the issue of sanctions, other important issues did not receive the attention they demanded at the Trades Union Congress. Nevertheless some important debates took place on such questions as the right of members of the Communist Party to hold official positions in the trade unions. In fact, it is worthy of note in passing that at every recent trade union congress it is stated that "Communism has been killed". Yet when the next trade union congress is held, we find an increased amount of time taken up in discussing the issues that are brought forward by the policy of the Communist Party. It was in the debate initiated by our members or supporters that the most interesting discussion took place, covering such subjects as workers' democracy inside the trade unions, the united front, the movement to coordinate wage demands along common lines, and the fight for international trade union unity.

On all these questions the Margate Congress indicated that there is a growing movement inside the trade unions *against* class collaboration, which expresses itself specifically in the character of the votes and statements made during the debate on the rights of Communists within the trade unions.

In the past year the Central Council through what is popularly known in Britain as *The Black Circular* had endeavored to get the trade unions to alter their rules and constitutions so that any member of the Communist Party would be declared ineligible to hold any official position in the unions. This dictatorial attitude had been strongly resisted, and some of the most important trade unions had already taken decisions at their annual conferences not to operate such a policy.

When the question came to be debated, Citrine made a statement on behalf of the General Council which was virtually a climb down from their previous position in so far as this policy of discrimination affected the trade unions, but not in regard to trade councils.

In the course of the speeches some interesting references were made. We will quote John Bromley, Secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers, Drivers and Firemen, and Will Lawther, Vice-president of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. Mr. Bromley said:

"But I do say this for my Executive and my union that our experience with our Communist members has been a singularly happy one. We have always known where they would be in a strike. That, I am proud to say, is something that I know with regard to all our members. They have been effective and very

courageous, and they have not only fought for themselves, but also for others." (John Bromley, Sec., A.S.L.E. & F.)

Mr. Lawther said:

"Let me say frankly that the miners are going to stand no interference in the democratic method of electing their officials. We say to Congress we are entitled to elect those officials that we believe are best fitted to carry out the duties of the organization, and we regard it as absolutely tragic that at this moment when we are discussing this paragraph, members of our organizations in South Wales are in prison because of their activities.

"We have suffered far more during the last four years from our one time friends of the Right than from what are presumed to be our enemies of the Left, and because of that we are very much alarmed at this policy now being put forward, and we ask the Congress unanimously to reject what after all the General Council themselves through the General Secretary admit does not mean everything." (Will Lawther, M.F.G.B.)

The voting on the policy of the General Council on this question was as follows: for the General Council—1,869,000; against—1,427,000. This is a very significant vote, and we believe it is the result of the better methods of work inside the trade unions that have been carried out by the Communist Party, and the firm determination of the active trade unionists to do nothing that could lead to splitting the forces within the trade union movement.

Only the most bigoted anti-Communists any longer peddle the pernicious propaganda that the Communists are out to destroy the trade unions. The workers and many trade union leaders know only too well that the aim of the Communist Party is to strengthen the trade unions, and make them fighting class organs of millions of working men and women.

The Margate Congress took important decisions on the miners' fight for increased wages, but it took no action to try and unite the wage demands that are being put forward by the miners, engineers and railwaymen. This grave weakness is the result of the deep sectionalism that prevails in the trade union movement in Britain, and in spite of the lead given by Mr. Conley, the then President of the Trade Union Congress, at the Trades Union Congress in 1934 for common action in wage questions, nothing of a practical character has been done to unite the forces of the trade unions in a common movement to secure their demands.

Neither was it seen at Margate nor Brighton that if the whole resources of the labor movement were now seriously bent on organizing a united campaign to secure increased wages for the miners, railwaymen, engineers, and extra winter relief for the unemployed, such a forceful mass movement could be developed, that as we pressed forward our fight for the independence of Ethiopia and against the imperialist aims of the National government, we could bring about a political situation in this country in which the united power of the whole working

ss movement could decisively defeat the National government and turn a Labor government.

This main and supreme aim of the movement was entirely missing this vital stage, and there was no attempt to organize this fight on common front. That is why so many delegates were rightly disquieted the policy of their leaders; they only saw the movement being tied behind the National government.

But the campaign now being conducted by the Communist Party the fulfilment of the aim we have set out above is meeting with increasing success and will draw more and more workers into active participation.

Mention must also be made of the important telegram of fraternal greetings that was sent to the Trades Union Congress from the Central Council of the All-Russian Trade Union movement, and which received with a warm and enthusiastic welcome from the delegates. This telegram read as follows:

"Sir Walter Citrine [General Secretary]:

"Moscow To the Central Council of the Trades Union Congress, Margate, Kent.

"The All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., representing 19,500,000 trade unionists, send fraternal greetings to the Sixty-Seventh British Trade Union Congress now being held at Margate, confident that your Congress will help forward the unification of all working class forces throughout the world to retard the advance of fascism and war."

It was subsequently the subject of a very favorable comment by influential trade union leaders all of whom were glad that the first step had been taken to break the ice that had for so long separated the trade union movements of Britain and the Soviet Union, and we believe that from this telegram it will be possible to bring about a closer understanding in the new situation that we face today between what are undoubtedly the most important trade union movements in the world. This turn can be helpful in leading to international developments that will bring about better prospects of unification between the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Red International of Labor Unions as well as the respective International Trade Secretaries.

The President of the Trade Union Congress at Margate paid a valuable tribute to the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and also at Brighton one heard expressions of similar character. We will quote from the president's speech, because it is the first time that there has been an official recognition of the role that the peace policy of the Soviet Union represents:

"When our Congress met last year, the hope was expressed that the Soviet Union would soon enter the League of Nations. The chairman stated his belief that the presence of that great working class power in the League would strengthen every element there that is working for peace. The U.S.S.R. has now joined the League and I hope we can count it as one of the most

powerful factors operating against international fascism. . . .

"To preserve peace in Eastern Europe, Soviet Russia and France jointly proposed an Eastern European pact of mutual assistance within the framework of the League of Nations, to include among others both Germany and Poland. Germany, however, has so far refused to join this proposed pact, though she professes to be a sincere supporter of its western counterpart, the Locarno Pact. The Soviet Union has, therefore, pending the adequate strengthening of the League of Nations Covenant, concluded pacts of mutual assistance with France and Czechoslovakia; and we can welcome these agreements as being in accordance with the statutes and the spirit of the League."

Now this kind of utterance cannot be separated from the general swing of the Left that is beginning to manifest itself throughout the labor movement. It also strikes a blow (even if the blow is struck by those who themselves have formerly been so assiduous in this direction) at the propaganda that there is no difference between the workers' dictatorship and the fascist dictatorship and that because of this, united action between the labor movement, which believes in democracy, and the Communist movement was impossible.

Experience is breaking down this dangerous type of propaganda. More and more it is being realized that unless unity in action can be achieved, then fascist instigators of war will triumph. But once unity in action is established, as in France, then a mighty movement begins to develop that draws in its train not only every section of the working class but large sections of the middle class. Citrine in attacking the fight for the united front at Margate did so on the grounds of the results of the Saar Plebiscite. He was very careful not to state what had been achieved in France, in Spain, in Austria, etc.

None better than the Labor leaders of Britain know the ferment that has been created inside the ranks of the Second International by the successes of the united front in France and a number of other countries. They know the new sense of political values that is being created, they are aware of the new strength of class consciousness that is being developed, and of how the workers are re-examining the entire conception of class collaboration.

Therefore, the British labor leaders still fiercely fight against any attempt to bring about unity in action whether in Britain itself or an international scale.

But against this line the rank and file are making firm moves forward. The Labor leaders declare that association with the Communist Party would lose them votes in the coming general election. The rank and file know that the Communist Party stands for the fight to defeat the National government and return a Labor government that under the pressure of the masses would extend the possibilities for the fight against capitalism.

The decisions of the Margate and Brighton Conferences entirely leave out of account this main task now standing before the British working class movement. We will permit ourselves to express the opinion

t as a result of the way the Communist Party is organizing to bring
ut the defeat of the National government, the way it will help to
rn Labor candidates in places where no Communist is standing, much
be done to break down the remaining barriers to united action that
l exist in Britain.

The effect that this will have on the whole international working
ss movement is very great, and the Communist Party will endeavor
fulfill in the shortest space of time its grave responsibilities to the
ernational proletariat.

How the Communist Party of France Is Fulfilling the Decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern

By C. S.

SINCE the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the Communist Party of France has boldly begun to operate the decisions of the World Congress. It has directed its efforts mainly toward the struggle for trade union unity and toward drawing the peasant masses into the anti-fascist people's front. The struggle for trade union unity has been crowned with success, and the work of the Communists in the rural districts has already produced some results.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International brought to the forefront the struggle for trade union unity as one of the most urgent tasks confronting the Communists.

When closing the Congress, Comrade Dimitroff, to the unanimous applause of the delegates, said:

"At this Congress we have raised aloft the banner of *trade union unity*. Communists do not insist on the independent existence of the Red trade unions at all costs. We, Communists, want trade union unity. But this unity must be based on actual class struggle and on putting an end, once and for all, to a situation in which the most consistent and determined advocates of trade union unity and of the class struggle are expelled from the trade unions of the Amsterdam International."

The French Communists have been the first to give a splendid confirmation of these words by their activity.

On July 24, the main objections of the leaders of the General Confederation of Labor (reformist—*Ed.*) to trade union unity, on the question of the independence of the trade unions and on the question of fractions, was overcome. An agreement was reached by the two confederations of labor which emphasized that "the trade union movement is in all its links guided, and decides the question of its action, entirely independent of the employers, the government, political parties, the philosophy of sects or other outside elements". This is a categorical condemnation of all class collaboration. In the agreement it is stated that neutrality of the trade union movement "in respect to political parties does not mean independence in relation to the dangers which might threaten the liberties of the people, as reforms already in operation or still to be achieved". The agreement, which guarantees full democracy and freedom inside the trade unions and freedom of political convictions outside of the trade unions, forbids the formation of fractions inside

unions. The Communists endorsed this concession made by the Unitary Federation in order not to delay the realization of trade union unity.

But in examining the practical ways and means of forming a single General Confederation of Labor, rather serious differences cropped up between the two confederations, which threatened to destroy all the efforts previously spent upon achieving unity.

Several conferences were held between representatives of both confederations, where the matter was discussed, and it was only on the occasion of their congresses (September, 1935) that agreement was arrived at as to the date for the unity congress. The agenda of the unity congress was to include all questions pertaining to the formation of and the functions of the United General Confederation of Labor, and also the establishment of connections between the leading organs in all parts of the trade unions in respect to amalgamation under the supervision of a mixed Confederal Commission.

Still another disagreement remained. The Unitary General Confederation of Labor proposed that the leading organs of both Confederations should work together until the unity congress was held. The General Confederation of Labor, on the other hand, insisted that until the unity congress was held the leadership should be given over to a Provisional National Confederal Committee consisting of representatives of the Trade Union Federations and District Trade Union Councils.

However, the discussions which took place during the congresses of both confederations resulted in common ground being found for agreement. It was decided that a mixed commission would be set up to serve as a connecting link between the leading bodies of both confederations, which, in case of necessity, would issue joint decisions regarding united action, while the National Confederation Committee would serve for the organization and formulation of the agenda of the unity congress. By unanimity was reached on the forms in which unity would take shape, both congresses met together and enthusiastically announced that the union unity had been achieved.

Thanks to their invariable devotion to the interests of the working class, and their unswerving will to achieve the re-establishment of the unity of the working class movement, the Communists scored a great victory over the enemies of the working class who based all their hopes on a continuation of the split in the ranks of the working class.

The purpose of the unity congress is to consider the program which will determine the orientation of the new General Confederation of Labor, its statutes, and also the question of the affiliation of the new General Confederation of Labor to one or other International organization. The Communists will express their revolutionary point of view on all these questions. We will uphold our views as we have defended them until now, without any sectarianism, or scholasticism, never for a moment losing sight of the interests of our class, and taking a firm stand on the platform of Bolshevik realism.

We have demonstrated our will for organized trade union unity. *Le Peuple*, the organ of the General Confederation of Labor, is raising the question of "moral" unity, as though afraid that such unity will be

difficult to attain in the new Confederation. But we shall also succeed in proving our determination to reach "moral" unity which, we think, will be inviolable, based on the principles of the class struggle.

If we examine the inter-connections between united action by the workers' parties and the unity of the trade union movement, it can quite clearly be seen that the agreement between the parties, dated July 27, 1934, had a decisive influence over the growth of feeling in favor of uniting both confederations, encouraged the growth of smooth relations between the leading organs of both confederations and, finally, definitely influenced the shaping of the united G.C.T. The fact that trade union unity has been achieved, in turn, is now most favorably influencing the consolidation of joint, united political action.

We should note that there has been a considerable increase in united action since the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. In particular we want to dwell on the creation of a joint platform between our Communist Party of France and the Socialist Party.

A year has elapsed since an exchange took place between the Communist and Socialist Parties of France of the documents which were to serve as a basis on which to elaborate a common platform. At that time there were still profound differences between the two parties, even on questions concerning immediate action. However, under the pressure of events which called for the immediate establishment of unity between the toilers, an agreement was finally reached after long discussions not only in the conciliation committee, but also among the masses, at meetings, and in the press.

The platform signed by the Communist and the Socialist Parties, and published in *l'Humanité* and *Populaire* on September 23, is an improvement on the pact reached in 1934, in that it gives a much fuller and more accurate definition of the basis of united action between the Communists and Socialists.

The platform especially emphasizes the need for strengthening the joint struggle of the Communists and Socialists in defense of the demands of all sections of the toiling population. We especially emphasize the importance of this task in connection with improving the position of the masses and unmasking the social demagogy of the fascists.

* * *

The people's front is growing and gathering strength in spite of difficulties. The organizations which have joined the people's front have begun to work out a program of this front. Some Socialist Party leaders are displaying narrow-mindedness in respect to the realization of the people's front. The Trotskyist disorganizers of the Socialist ranks are clamoring the more loudly as the attention given them diminishes. They cry: "Clear the radicals out of the people's front!" It is regrettable that these loud phrases of the Trotskyist sect still have their influence over some Socialists. We Communists are perfectly well aware of all the shortcomings of some parties participating in the people's front. But we consider that the best revolutionary is the one who in the struggle against fascism can rally the greatest possible forces round himself, even if they are not absolutely reliable.

Comrade Dimitroff pointed out that an exceedingly important task facing the Communists is "to draw the broad masses of peasants, the masses of the petty bourgeoisie, into the anti-fascist movement, and to devote special attention to their vital needs in working out the program of the anti-fascist people's front". We have already achieved certain successes along these lines.

For some time a revival of fascist agitation is to be observed in the villages of France. The peasants are discontented. On August 11, delegates of 500 peasant defense committees in the Somme Department decided to start a struggle for the revalorization* of farm products and for a moratorium on the debts of the peasants and artisans. Our Party adopted these demands, which it also advanced, because they coincide with the wishes of the broad masses of the toiling peasantry. The Party launched an energetic campaign for the realization of these demands, and declared that the Communists were ready to fight for the achievement of unity of all peasants on the basis of the struggle for higher prices for farm products and for a moratorium.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France published an appeal in *l'Humanité* (which was reprinted on posters circulated throughout the country) urging the peasants to unite to secure aid for French agriculture". This appeal concretely formulates the most vital demands of the peasants, and points out the means of achieving them. The appeal links together the demands and the struggle of the peasants with the demands and the struggle of the working class, and shows that the workers' and peasants' demands can be fully realized, the financial program of the Communist Party which demands that "the rich must pay" is carried into life.

The Agrarian Party took the initiative in organizing peasant demonstrations on September 21, to demand the revalorization of farm products and a moratorium on debts. The Central Committee of our Party appealed to all peasant groups to unite their forces so that these demonstrations would fully express the determination of the peasant masses. This appeal met with profound repercussions in the rural areas. The fury of the reactionary fascist press showed us that we had struck a right blow. On September 28 the Communist Party published an agrarian program of action which analyzes the situation in each branch of agriculture and proposes measures which can be immediately realized and would enable the peasants to find a way out of the agrarian crisis, attacking the big landlords and capitalists. The program also shows the peasants that their demands could be satisfied if they united their forces in the struggle.

With the aid of such a weapon our Party organizations can start a wide campaign to rally and organize the peasant masses and to disrupt attempts of the fascists to unite the peasants under their banners.

A by-election took place recently in the district of Poitiers. Our Party polled four times as many votes as it did in 1932. We, of course,

* Revalorization means raising the selling prices of peasant farm produce, but this does not serve to entail an increase in the retail prices of these products since revalorization has to be achieved by the struggle against speculation and the reduction of transport charges.—Ed.

are not fully satisfied with this result. The fascist danger in the French villages is very great, as was shown in the second round of the election when the candidate of the People's Front for whose benefit the Communist candidate was withdrawn received only nine votes more than the reactionary candidate. We must therefore double our efforts to prevent the development of fascism in the countryside.

At a conference of Left parliamentary groups held recently it was proposed in the name of the Communist Party to organize a broad congress of the French peasants under the auspices of the united front. The proposal which was accepted in principle has now to be fulfilled. The leadership of the Communist Party proposed to the Socialist Party to launch a joint campaign in the villages in favor of the peasant demands and in support of peasant demonstrations. At the recent congress of the Socialist Party specially devoted to the study of agrarian problems, this proposal was accepted. This permits us to expect excellent results in the struggle for the interests of the toiling peasants.

The Communist peasants actively working in the General Confederation of Toiling Peasants (C.G.P.T.) have energetically and realistically set to work to rally the peasant masses. The Agrarian Party has appealed to all political and professional groups of the peasants to participate in the demonstrations of September 21. The C.G.P.T. immediately replied to the appeal and proposed a joint struggle with the Agrarian Party for the revalorization of farm products and for a moratorium on peasant debts. The Agrarian Party most likely did not expect such a positive attitude from the C.G.P.T. and gave a somewhat dubious answer to the proposals of the latter. In the localities, however, united action has already been achieved in practice between many district branches of the C.G.P.T. and of the Agrarian Party. A number of local and district organizations have concluded fighting agreements with big organizations which unite large numbers of toiling peasants of all trends.

Socialist leaders, like Dormoy, criticize our work in unifying the peasant masses regardless of their political trend. They oppose joint action with peasant groups under bourgeois leadership who, they declare, "deserve the fist and not a handshake". We think that if we followed this advice we would help fascism to strengthen its positions in the villages. We do not intend to unite with the leaders of the various peasant organizations, but what we want is unity with the peasant masses belonging to these organizations. It must be borne in mind that almost the absolute majority of organized peasants are concentrated in organizations under bourgeois and often under reactionary leadership. Does that mean that we must leave the peasants entirely in the hands of people who very often are the agents of the landlords and the capitalists? No, if the shortest way of achieving unity with the peasants is an appeal to these organizations, why should we not do so when it is a question of the concrete defense of the interests of the toiling peasants?

We are on the right path. And we can say that by boldly applying the tactics defined by the Seventh Congress of the Communist Inter-

tional we have achieved greater results in the countryside in the last two months than during the whole preceding year.

Our Party has also directed its efforts towards organizing a mass struggle against the war of Italian fascism in Ethiopia. In this sphere, however, it must be admitted that we have obtained considerably less significant results than in other spheres of our work. True, right at the beginning of the campaign, in August, the leaders of the Socialist Party were against organizing joint action against the menace of Italian aggression in Africa. However, we overcame their resistance and developed broad agitation for the application of economic and financial sanctions against the aggressor—as against the French fascists who demanded that the government support Mussolini. Simultaneously, we organized an energetic campaign to secure international united action against the war on the basis of the proposals of the Comintern to the Second International. In this way we were to a considerable extent successful in intensifying the desire of the masses in our country for the realization of the united front on an international scale. The fact that the Executive Committee of the Second International rejected the proposals of the Comintern called forth profound discontent among the workers of different political trends: several coordination committees of Communist and Socialist organizations passed resolutions demanding that united action be adopted on an international scale at the earliest possible moment. However, on the question of the struggle against the war of Italian fascism, we restricted ourselves too long to general appeals and slogans, without organizing a mass struggle. Despite the fact that the Communist and Socialist organizations—unitarian and reformist—called upon the workers to stop the transport of goods to Italy, we have still not been able to get concrete action done in this sphere. This may be fraught with consequences. If the war of Italian fascism in Ethiopia is not to serve as the prelude to a world conflagration, the fighting capacity of the masses must be increased by raising them to the struggle for the fulfillment of the slogans advanced by their organizations. This is why we must do our utmost to put into practice the instructions of the Seventh Congress in the sphere of the struggle to maintain peace. The successes achieved in the last few months by the C.P. of France do not mean that we have no shortcomings.

We are still not sufficiently popularizing the decisions of the Seventh Congress, nor bringing these decisions to the masses. We have as yet not made a sufficiently thorough study of the valuable instructions and contents of the reports and resolutions of the Congress.

Comrade Dimitroff justly pointed out that the Communist Party of France has taken only the first step. The most difficult work is still ahead of us and we shall fulfill this with success only if we thoroughly carry out the work of the Seventh Congress.

Our Party has shown that it knows how to find its bearings in the present complex situation, and that it is capable of making the necessary tactical turn when the situation so requires. But it is weaker when it comes to explaining to the masses the reasons and the necessity for such a tactical turn, to explaining to the masses the perspectives of the

development of the struggle. The fact that the experiences of our Party helped in the elaboration of the line at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern makes it obligatory on us in a greater measure to increase our study of the organizational and tactical tasks referred to in the decisions of the Congress, and to popularize these decisions among the broad masses.

There is another reason which prompts us to devote much attention to the popularization of the Seventh Congress. It is exceedingly necessary for us to strengthen our ranks both ideologically and organizationally. Comrade Dimitroff said:

"The question of cadres is of particular urgency for the additional reason that under our influence the mass united front movement is gaining momentum and bringing forward many thousands of new working class militants. Moreover, it is not only young revolutionary elements, not only workers just becoming revolutionary, who have never before participated in a political movement, that stream into our ranks."

These words of Comrade Dimitroff fully apply to our Party. It is our task to train these new revolutionary elements, to create new cadres. Now, in particular, when our Party is extending its activities to the sphere of struggle for the united front, it is essential to consolidate its organizations considerably.

We have not yet eliminated the discrepancy between our successes in the united front movement and the organizational work of the Party. This discrepancy must be quickly overcome. We must speed up the recruiting of new members, strengthen our lower Party organizations, enlarge the number of Party schools, bring forward new, capable and tested fighters. Such are the conditions for organically strengthening the Party.

The Party is growing strong, its membership has reached almost 80,000, and recruiting is going forward at a rate hitherto unprecedented. Our influence among the masses is growing: the circulation of *l'Humanité* which was 200,000 copies in 1934, now exceeds 240,000 copies on work-days, and 300,000 copies on Sundays. We cannot but note these successes. But in order to fulfill the most important task facing us, namely, of consolidating and extending the anti-fascist mass organizations by covering the whole of the country with a thick network of people's front committees—our Party must become still stronger both ideologically and organizationally.

The British Party After the Seventh Congress of the Communist International

By P. KERRIGAN

THE British Party is carrying out a wide campaign for the explanation and popularization of the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.

A number of pamphlets have been published covering the main speeches delivered at the Congress, and special steps are being taken to ensure their widest possible circulation. In addition, the *Daily Worker* has carried a number of articles outstanding among which was a detailed article by Comrade Pollitt dealing with the application of the decisions of the Seventh Congress to the British situation.

The first series of conferences and reporting meetings by the British delegates to the Congress were held on September 8 in London, Glasgow, South Wales, Manchester, Bradford, Newcastle, Sheffield, and Birmingham. These Conferences were striking successes. Almost 50 per cent of the delegates who attended came from Labor Party, Trade Union, Cooperative and Socialist societies.

In London at the mass demonstration following the reporting conference which was held in Battersea Town Hall, over 1,000 workers were not able to gain admission to the packed hall. The enthusiasm of the audience for the line of the Seventh Congress, which was presented by Comrades Pollitt and Springhall, can be gauged from the following facts. £70 were taken in the collection. *Over £20 worth of literature was sold including 1,800 pamphlets dealing with the World Congress.* At all the conferences there was the most keen interest, and Labor and trade union workers put many questions and participated in the discussions. Conferences are being continued in other places and additional ones have already been held in Aberdeen, Kilmarnock, Liverpool, etc.

There was also a special Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in October to discuss the Seventh Congress and extend the Party activity around the Congress decisions. In addition a campaign has been started whereby Comrade Pollitt will tour the whole of the principal industrial centers of Britain and where the special feature of the meetings will be the Seventh Congress.

At the T.U.C. Congress in Margate special steps were taken to draw the delegates' and union executives' attention to the Congress decisions. It is significant that Dimitroff's statement on Trade Union Unity was adopted by the mover of the motion on International Trade Union Unity and indeed this statement of Dimitroff sounded the main note in the debate at the T.U.C., in spite of the fact that Citrine in his reply misquoted Dimitroff. The telegram of greetings from the All-Union Council

of Trade Unions, read to the Congress, was heartily endorsed by the majority of the delegates, and in this, as well as in the discussion on the fight against fascism and war, trade union unity, etc., was heard the response of the masses of British trade unionists to the clarion call of the Seventh World Congress for the united front against fascism and war.

Since then the Party has addressed a letter to all trade unions affiliated to the T.U.C. in which it pledges support to the miners in their wages fight, refutes the *Black Circular** slanders, declares that Communists will help build the unions and draws attention of the union Executive Committees to "the recent decisions of the Communist International and especially to the speech of Comrade Dimitroff, General Secretary of the Communist International", asking the Executive Committees to give serious consideration to this statement.

RESULT OF PARTY CAMPAIGN

Can we see at this moment positive results from the Party's efforts to popularize the Seventh Congress and carry through its line? Undoubtedly! The T.U.C. decisions enforcing the *Black Circular* against the Communists was passed by only a small majority and this only after Bevin, leader of the Transport Workers' Union cast the votes of his union against the Communists, in spite of the previous decision of his own Executive Committee against the *Black Circular*. Branches of this union are already protesting against Bevin's action at the Congress. Some of the most important unions (miners, railwaymen, engineers, etc.), have declared their refusal to operate the *Black Circular*.

In the Party campaign for united working class action to defeat the National government, the *Daily Worker* is able to report on the electoral agreement in the Vale of Leven in Scotland. For the County Council and District Council elections in December, the Communist Party has established a united front agreement with the Labor Party and the I.L.P. so that in the ten seats to be contested there will not be a split working class vote and the "moderates" will be faced with one working class candidate in each ward.

In the struggle to unite the trade union movement in Britain in the fight for wage increases and to bring thousands of unorganized into the unions, the Executive of the United Mine Workers of Scotland is balloting all its members with a recommendation to support the following proposal:

"In view of the present fight of the miners for increased wages and the importance of the statement made by the M.F.G.B. delegation at the Trade Union Congress, we propose that the National Union of Scottish Mineworkers accept all the U.M.S. branches and members on the basis of full trade union rights and membership."

The statement referred to was made by the Vice-President of the M.F.G.B. in debate on the *Black Circular*, when he declared "that the

* Instructions from Trade Union Congress designed to prevent Communists from holding office in the trade unions or from acting as delegates to Trades Councils.

ainers will stand no interference with their right to elect the representative they think will best represent them by ballot vote, whether he be Communist or belongs to any other prescribed body".

There is one other big issue on which it is possible to say that the Congress line has been applied and is giving results. This is the Party's campaign against war and for the defense of Ethiopia. Here in a very difficult situation, the Party has shown its ability to apply in life the resolution of the Seventh Congress. The Communist peace policy has been embodied in eleven points covering action by the workers for stopping war materials to Italy, support for Ethiopia, closing of the Suez Canal, fighting against British mandates, and British imperialist interests in Ethiopia, for mass pressure on the government, for support for collective sanctions against Italy, etc. The campaign which has been especially directed against the present foreign policy of the British government and for Britain adhering to the Franco-Soviet Peace Pact system, has met with a big response among the masses of workers. *It is significant of the position that the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union has just issued an instruction to its members not to work on orders for the Italian army.*

This is a pointer as to what is possible in other industries and is understood as such by the capitalist press which has launched an attack on the union.

It is necessary to make some observations on the weak points in our campaign around the Seventh Congress. There is no indication at the moment of a big drive to recruit new members into the Party on the basis of the Seventh Congress decisions and this is a very important question for the British Party.

The *Daily Worker* has also some shortcomings in the campaign. The paper does not seem to have a proper plan for popularizing and explaining the Congress. There are gaps in the references to the Congress and there could be more features in the paper concretely applying the Congress decisions to problems facing us.

A rather serious weakness of the work of the Party relative to our proposal for affiliation to the Labor Party and for an election agreement is the absence of resolutions from meetings, trade union branches, and local Labor Parties, supporting these proposals of the Party and urging the Labor Party Conference to accept them. The Seventh Congress delegates had only a month in which to influence these bodies but nevertheless better results could have been achieved than are reported to date. A very big part can be played by such resolutions following the Labor Party Congress.

We have not yet commenced to organize regular classes and study circles not only for the Party members, but for the broad non-Party masses of trade unionists, Labor and Socialist workers, where they can systematically work over the Congress decisions and equip themselves for the coming class battles in Britain.

At the same time as we note these shortcomings, we have to emphasize the big positive side of the Party work since the Seventh Congress, and on the basis of this we are convinced that the Party will make still further progress in carrying the decisions of the Seventh Congress into the whole life of the toilers of Britain.

The Popularizing of the Decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the First Steps Made Toward Their Realization by the Communist Parties of Scandinavia

By F. DENGEL

SWEDEN

THE central organ of the Communist Party of Sweden, the *Ny Dag*, published several articles during the Congress commenting on its work, and published the most important of the speeches at the Congress and its decisions. On the whole, the *Ny Dag* published several dozen articles on questions concerning the Seventh Congress. All these were popular articles written in a spirit not only to keep its readers informed, but also to convince them.

The Social-Democratic press and the bourgeois press have widely responded to the Seventh Congress. All the big Swedish newspapers published information concerning the Congress and devoted editorial articles to it. Comrade Dimitroff's report in particular worried the Social-Democratic press. The newspapers representing the extreme Right wing of Swedish Social-Democracy howled about the "new maneuvers" of the Comintern, rejecting in advance all possibility of any united front with the Communists. But the largest Social-Democratic newspaper, the Stockholm *Social-Demokraten*, issued a famous article on August 18, in which already none of the usual insults against the united front were to be found. This article subjects Comrade Dimitroff's report to a careful examination, and comes to the following conclusions:

"We note with interest the signs of a growth of wisdom and the awakening of a realistic sense in the central leadership of Communism. In the face of the fascist danger that is spreading in Europe, it has begun to understand the fundamental value of a democratic liberty for which it previously found only words of contempt and jests. It would be a pleasure to be able to believe that a real change of viewpoint is taking place and not merely a change of tactics, forced by circumstances. Here as always the proverb is true: like father, like son; the essence of the theoretical premises define the concrete actions."

This was the first article in a Swedish Social-Democratic newspaper which, in spite of the numerous reservations, nevertheless did not adopt a position of downright rejection of the united front. It must be noted that the Swedish Communist press as a whole reacted correctly towards

the Social-Democratic utterances about the Seventh Congress. It tried to raise a discussion, and by the calm and convincing tone that it adopted, aroused the Social-Democratic press to a discussion of the problems of the Seventh Congress.

The central organ of the Socialist Party of Sweden (the *Kilbom* party) devoted very much space to the Seventh Congress. Articles appeared daily in this paper on the questions of the Seventh Congress and on the policy of the Comintern. All these articles represented a desperate effort to discredit and attack from the "Left" the most important speeches and decisions of the Congress. Some of the leaders of the Socialist Party, led by Nils Flyg, blinded with hatred towards the Comintern, are using all means at their disposal to undermine the already existing united front between the Communist and Socialist organizations which has been realized in several localities. These leaders know that the desire of the socialist workers for unity is growing every day, and that if the sectarian survivals in the Communist Party of Sweden are consistently overcome, it will lead to the realization of unity in the working class. It is just for this reason that Flyg and his followers endeavor to frighten the workers with their efforts to discredit the decisions of the Seventh Congress, which are alleged to be a "betrayal of the revolutionary principles of Communism", "capitulation to Social-Democracy", and "subordination of the policy of the Comintern to the Soviet Union, now become bourgeois". The Communist press of Sweden does not fall victim to the provocation of the *Folkete Dagblad*, and with convincing arguments gives its reply to these infuriated attacks.

The anti-war activities in connection with the Italo-Ethiopian conflict have shown that the Communist Party of Sweden is correctly carrying out the decisions of the Seventh Congress. Not so long ago it seemed that joint action was impossible for the Communist and Social-Democratic organizations in Sweden. Utilizing the decisions of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals concerning the carrying out of anti-war demonstrations, the Communist Party of Sweden has made an appeal to the local Social-Democratic and trade union organizations. At the same time it is carrying out energetic agitation among the Social-Democratic workers in the trade unions and factories. As a result, in Stockholm, Goeteborg, and many other industrial centers of the country, joint demonstrations took place. It is particularly noteworthy that even in Goeteborg, where the extreme Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders headed by Richard Lindstroem are to be found, and where the most Right-wing Social-Democratic newspaper, the *Ny Tid*, is published, the Social-Democratic workers brought about this joint demonstration in which the Communists took part on an equal footing with the Social-Democratic organizations. The example of Goeteborg has also shown that the realization of the united front leads to a mighty upsurge of the working class movement; in the anti-war demonstration there participated about 35,000 people, and was therefore a mass demonstration hitherto unprecedented in Goeteborg.

The calm and convincing tone of the Communist press and the leaders of the Communist Party of Sweden in reply to the attacks of the Socialist-

Party leaders against the Seventh Congress and against the appeals of the Communist Party for the united front, resulted in the participation of several local organizations of the Socialist Party in the joint anti-war demonstrations, against the will of the leadership.

This close connection between the Communist workers and the activists, on the one hand, and the officials, members of the Socialist Party and the Left Social-Democratic workers and functionaries, on the other, was also expressed in different recent trade union congresses.

At the seamen's congress, where only a small number of the delegates were those elected on the opposition ticket, this minority, together with those Social-Democratic delegates inclined towards the opposition, was successful in electing a new leadership composed in the main of representatives of the opposition. At this congress, as well as at the congresses of the metal workers and of the laborers' union, important decisions were passed against the official reformist policy on questions of the united front and trade union tactics, and in criticizing the measures adopted by the Social-Democratic government, etc. In all these cases these decisions were able to be put through because of the comradesly collaboration between the Communists, the Socialists, and the opposition Social-Democrats.

In this report at the Seventh Congress, Comrade Dimitroff criticized the Communist Party of Sweden because it had not yet sufficiently concretely put through the united front, and primarily because it had not used as the basis of the united front the struggle to realize the promises put forward in Social-Democratic platforms which had not been satisfied by the Social-Democratic government. On the questions of Sweden's home policy, the Communist Party of Sweden has not yet fulfilled the directives given it in Comrade Dimitroff's report. The successes of the united front in the struggle against imperialist war should make clear to the Communist Party of Sweden that on concrete questions concerning the life of the workers, and on questions of home policy, it must boldly and determinedly appeal to the Social-Democratic workers and organizations, proposing that a united front fight be put up for the realization of the demands of the workers and of the poor farmers. The decisions of the trade union congresses are proof of the fact that in this sphere also no fewer successes *in setting up a united front can be achieved than those obtained in the struggle against war.*

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NORWAY

The Communist Party of Norway has carried on good work in popularizing the Seventh Congress. During the Seventh Congress the Communist Party of Norway was already organizing workers' meetings at which questions of the Congress and, in particular, Comrade Dimitroff's report were discussed. The press of the Communist Party of Norway—and especially its central organ which is issued only twice a week—has successfully popularized the decisions of the Seventh Congress. On August 9, the organ of the Party, *Arbeideren*, was already popular-

g Comrade Dimitroff's report, especially explaining those points in report where he gave the basis for the new tactical line of the Comintern for our struggle for unity in the working class, which will give the working class an opportunity in alliance with the farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of gaining a victory over fascism".

Several examples go to prove that the Communist Party of Norway has been successful in bringing the decisions of the Congress to the attention of the Social-Democratic workers—members of the Norwegian Labor Party. In one of the industrial districts in the southern part of the country, where there is no Communist organization at all, one of the local Social-Democratic groups, having discussed the results of the Seventh Congress, unanimously adopted and dispatched to the leadership of the Norwegian Labor Party a resolution welcoming the decision of the Comintern for the establishment of a united front against fascism, war danger and the offensive of capital.

In this resolution we find the following:

"We demand collaboration with all the revolutionary forces of the Norwegian working class, and therefore we propose that negotiations be opened immediately with the Communist Party of Norway for the establishment of a united front of struggle for the following demands: disbanding of the fascist organizations which are preparing for civil war, abolition of the anti-labor legislation, the transfer of the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the rich, unemployment insurance at the expense of the state and employers, against wage cuts, and for wage increases."

We find an expression of the vital interest displayed towards the Seventh Congress by the Social-Democratic workers in the fact also that one of the largest Social-Democratic organizations in the capital of Norway, Oslo, invited one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Norway to make a report on the Seventh Congress.

The Congress met with an especially lively response among the young youth of Norway. Masses of young workers themselves decided that the proletarian youth organizations merge into one united anti-fascist youth organization.

There is the same desire for unity expressed in the decisions of the representatives of the Norwegian trade unions on the question of international trade union unity. In the resolution passed on the question of relating to the Amsterdam International, it says:

"Affiliation should take place on the basis of the principles and premises outlined by our congresses on the question of trade union work, and with the definite intention of striving to gather all the forces of all trade union organizations which stand on the platform of the class struggle."

In Norway, as in Sweden, the united front of struggle against war has been achieved in many localities at the initiative of the Communist Party.

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DENMARK

The Communist Party of Denmark has also taken the first steps towards popularizing the Seventh Congress. On September 10, the Party organized a meeting in which 2,500 participated, and reports were given by delegates to the Seventh Congress. But the daily paper of the Party has still not fully coped with the task of popularizing the Congress and its decisions. True, the most important speeches and decisions of the Congress were published, but up to now the Communist Party of Denmark has not been successful in applying these decisions in actual practice in its Party work, or in adapting these to its own country.

In spite of the fact that Comrade Dimitroff sharply criticized the work of the Communist Party of Denmark at the Seventh Congress, no real change has yet been made there. The Communist Party of Denmark has still made no serious attempt to set up the united front with the Social-Democratic workers and organizations on the basis of concrete problems inside the country as, for example, the struggle against fascist elements in the big farmers' organizations of Denmark, the struggle against the increasing cost of living, or the struggle against the war danger.

The leader of the Party, Comrade Axel Larsen, in his speech at the Seventh Congress, stated that the Communist Party of Denmark still limits itself in the main to one-sided negative criticism of the policy of Social-Democracy. But despite his self-critical declaration, there is no determined change to be observed in the direction of giving up negative criticism and taking a definite course to set up a united front with the Social-Democratic workers and organizations in a struggle against fascism and the war danger, against the continuing offensive upon the standard of living of the working class and of the poor farmers. It is not enough for the Communist Party of Denmark to welcome the decisions of the Seventh Congress; it must, at last, begin to carry out these decisions.

The Rakosi Trial

(A Review of the Records of the Rakosi Trial*)

By I. AVAR

The chief counsel for the defense in the Rakosi trial in Budapest, Professor Rustem Vamberi, has published a book on the trial. The book includes a preface by Professor Vamberi and the following documents: the speech by the State Prosecutor, the speech by R. Vamberi, counsel for the defense, the speech by Comrade Rakosi delivered as his plea in the hearing before the court, the verdict and its motive. These documents, so different in content, are of exclusive interest. The book gives an impression of a real battle. The counter-revolutionary forces are represented in this battle by the speech of the prosecutor and the text of the verdict. In these an entirely secondary role is played by the consistency and logic. The references to paragraphs in the Criminal Code made in the speech of the prosecutor and given in the text are a mere fig-leaf, covering the bare, counter-revolutionary class agenda. As we know, Rakosi was accused of the following "crimes": treason, mutiny, 25 cases of murder, inciting to murder in 17 cases, money forgery. The chief thesis of the indictment amounted to a statement that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary was "a scourge of the scum of mankind against civilization". The prosecutor

"... what they made was not history, what they created was not state power; those few months which were known in Hungary as the 'proletarian dictatorship', can be of little interest to the historian, the politician, and is absolutely without any interest for the learned lawyers, but is primarily of interest to the criminologist."

and the prosecutor poured forth his indictment in this strain for two hours. For him, the Communists who headed the Hungarian working class in the spring of 1919 were merely "so many unknown and alien adventurists", "prepared to commit any crime", etc., deeds were claimed to be "nothing but greed, the thirst for power, rough imperialism". The verdict which sentenced Comrade Rakosi to hard labor for life, and the motives for it, are entirely constructed upon this "thesis" of the indictment. These documents speak for themselves: the hypocrisy and falsity of fascist justice can be learned from them. Professor Vamberi delivered a noteworthy speech at the trial. It was a real feat on the part of a learned lawyer who was trying to defend "justice" as such, and did not want to allow justice to be reduced to the

* *Rakosi Fez*, Budapest, 1935.

role of a fascist lackey. Vamberi gradually pulled down the whole "legal" thesis of the indictment; he revealed all the juridical inconsistency of the thesis which depicted the revolutionary leaders as mere criminals; he exposed all the absurdity of the accusation, pointing out that if the right place for the revolutionary council of ministers of the Hungarian Soviet Republic was "in the dock with the accused" as a band of criminals bearing "collective responsibility", then in that case "the overwhelming majority of the population of Hungary is no less liable to prosecution as accomplices".

However, every word of this speech of the counsel for the defense revealed the inner contradiction of the position adopted by an honest lawyer: on the one hand, he is fighting against the way in which fascist "justice" tramples upon the letter of formal law; on the other, he cannot but recognize that, in this particular case, there is something more involved than a conflict between law and violation of the law. He himself is forced to talk of the "conflict between conceptions of revolution and criminal law". A prominent lawyer, for whom there is still some meaning left in the conception of objective "law", of justice, finds himself between two fronts, and himself admits that:

"If the sword is thrown down from the hand of the Goddess of Justice, then she has no support for her scales."

Rakosi's speech is the speech of a true proletarian revolutionary. It differs strongly from the speeches both of the lying fascist counsel and of the honest lawyer. Rakosi's speech covers 62 pages of the book, and the section of his speech which deals with himself, his own personal activities during the proletarian dictatorship, occupies only one single page. Briefly and to the point, severely and in a business-like manner, he enumerates in chronological order all the positions he occupied during the four and a half months of proletarian dictatorship: People's Commissar of Public Production, then organizer of the army in the Danube Valley, representative of the government in the Carpathian Ukraine, Political Commissar at the front, defending the coal basin in Shalgartarian, plenipotentiary on the Southern front in the battles against the French army, and then again on the Northern front; further, he was the organizer of the grain collecting and finally, Commander of the Red Militia in Budapest.

In conclusion, Rakosi says:

"This was my role. Wherever I was sent, I honestly pursued my Communist convictions. . . . With a clear conscience I take upon myself full responsibility for every one of my actions during the proletarian dictatorship, and have no intention whatsoever of belittling the role I played. All that I did, I did by conviction. I have no intention of justifying my actions. I want only to say that to this day I still hold the convictions I held then. I have no cause whatever to relent, although I have been in prison for ten years."

In these simple words there is sublime pathos which the ridiculous

ing of the prosecutor about "Christian culture" and "Europeanization" merely emphasized.

Comrade Rakosi's speech in form represents an historical survey of the rise and the development of the proletarian dictatorship of Hungary. Rakosi's unusual speech in the fascist court is to be explained by the peculiarity of the indictment and of the whole trial. There, in the prisoner's dock stood, literally speaking, history itself. For Rakosi, who had already served eight and a half years' imprisonment for his activities during the proletarian dictatorship 16 years ago, was once again brought before the fascist court. Therein lies the difference between the trial and the Leipzig trial.

In order to wound the heart of the fascist criminals, Comrade Rakosi did not have to refer to events which occurred 16 years ago, but to events which had taken place only a few months previously. To fulfill the actual political task in connection with the conduct of his trial, Rakosi was compelled to work, as it were, on historical material. It is obvious that the historical side of the accusation was drawn in only for the sake of appearances. In hurling accusations and calumny against the dictatorship of the proletariat, fascism was serving its own actual political ends. The fascists wanted to aim a blow not only at the communist movement of Hungary, but to use the trial to create a suitable "atmosphere" which would arouse anti-Soviet feelings on the part of the foreign policy of Hungary. However, Rakosi could not easily unmask these hidden intentions and aims of the court. He had to utter a word which openly linked up historical material with the actual political problems of the day, and the president immediately interrupted him. For this reason Rakosi's services must be the more valued, for he was successful, not only in repulsing the calumnious attacks of fascism against the revolutionary past of the Hungarian proletariat, but also by his behavior at the trial, he was able to forge a new basis for the class struggle of today.

This refers, first and foremost, to the unmasking of the treacherous international role which the Hungarian counter-revolution played during the proletarian revolution. The most brilliant pages in Rakosi's speech were those in which he reveals the downright espionage of the Hungarian imperialist guards on behalf of the imperialism of the Entente, which tore Hungary into pieces. Rakosi was accused of murder, because the pro-imperialist dictatorship used methods of revolutionary violence to suppress the Hungarian counter-revolution, organized and inspired outside Hungary by the counter-revolutionary "Hungarian Committee", led by Count Teleki, who subsequently became Prime Minister, and by his aristocratic clique. Rakosi pointed out that this armed counter-revolution was organized to stab directly the Hungarian Red Army, which was waging revolutionary war against the Czech imperialists, in the back. The suppression of the Danube Vandees was a crime, because it was striving to "establish law and order"—so the indictment read.

Thus did Comrade Rakosi explain this point:

"But the chief means of restoring so-called law and order

was the army of the Czech and Rumanian bourgeoisie: I fought with all the means at my disposal, and not I alone, but the whole Party, to prevent these attempts to restore law and order on the part of the Czech and Rumanian bourgeoisie. In the process of this struggle, we occupied not only Kechel and Dunapatai* but also Bartya and Kassa,** and I emphasized the fact that I took part in these struggles with weapons in my hands. The Prosecutor did not take this fact into consideration. . . . But if the activities of the central government, which led to the occupation of Kassa, were according to the law, then in that case the activities of the same government which led to the occupation of Ketsel cannot be unlawful.

"Count Julius Andradi, on March 27, issued a memorandum to the peace conference in which he invited the Entente to use armed force against the Soviet Republic. The Hungarian bourgeois politicians in Vienna asked the representatives of the Entente for assistance in the counter-revolutionary campaign which had already begun."

The Viennese counter-revolutionary committee, through its connections with the old officers serving in the Hungarian Red Army dispatched orders, war plans and important military secrets of the Red Army to the Czech and Rumanian armies through the missions of the army headquarters of the Entente. In conclusion Rakosi exclaimed:

"I had no connection whatsoever with the Entente missions! We fought with all our might against the occupation of Hungary by foreign capitalist armies. But the Hungarian bourgeoisie did its utmost to encourage this occupation."

Thus Rakosi exposed the Hungarian bourgeois counter-revolution which purposely paved the way for the rapacious Trianon peace. Rakosi tore the patriotic mask from the face of fascism, which marches under the manner of revision of the Trianon pact.

In opposition to the fascist fables about historical truths, Rakosi explained the true historical circumstances and the driving forces of proletarian revolution in Hungary. For just this reason his speech was the militant speech of a revolutionary who appeals to the masses while exposing the fascist "historical approach". Rakosi told how the Communist Party of Hungary fought in 1918-19, how it had won the masses and led them to victory. He spoke of the mistakes and errors of the Hungarian Communists, mistakes which helped in the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship, of the wrong policy on the peasant question, of the mistakes made in the methods of conducting the war, of the radical mistake of the Communists which expressed itself in the liquidation of the leading revolutionary Party of the working class.

The courageous, revolutionary, and, moreover, deeply thought-out speech of Rakosi before the fascist court, after ten years of confinement, has once more shown that the Bolsheviks are people of a special mould: they are like steel—forged the harder, the stronger the blows of the hammer.

* Localities in Hungary where the counter-revolutionary kulak uprising was suppressed.

** Towns in Slovakia, won in battle by the Hungarian Red Army,

Communism in the United States

MUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES, by Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., 352 pages, International Publishers, New York, \$2.00, special edition, \$1.00.

Reviewed by D.

THE American bourgeois reviewers are baffled by this book. Their stock arguments against "Communist ranting" are obviously quite less. Comrade Browder's writings and speeches, as here contained, marked by their clear and vivid presentation of the conditions of workers under Roosevelt's New Deal, the reasoned description of the Communist way out of the crisis, and the critical examination of the policies and practice of the Communist Party. The very nature of bourgeois politics would prevent any leader of any other party in the United States from daring to treat in public the questions dealt with here.

Failing to find anything to burlesque, one bourgeois reviewer complains that the book is "humorless". Another, who cannot feel the pathos and significance of the struggles discussed, finds it "dull". A third, too stupid to understand the struggle of the American workers for scientific and social understanding, finds the polemics against the deviators to be "barreled", etc.

One of the reputed "liberal" reviewers (Lewis Gannett—*New York World Tribune*), unable to answer the merciless logic of the Communist program by so much as a single argument, makes this "profound" observation:

"There is something a little pathetic in the earnest struggle of Mr. Browder . . . to make his movement seem important."

But while these very remarks were printed on the inside of the paper, page 20, on the front pages of the very issue a campaign was carried on against the "alarming" activities of the Communists.

The volume includes such outstanding historic contributions to American political thought as the manifesto and speeches outlining the traditions of the earlier revolutionary traditions of the American people in the present struggles of the working class; discussions and documents of the San Francisco general strike and general textile strike; the keen analysis against the philosophic confusion of pragmatism; the speeches on the united front and the struggle against the fascist danger, the Communist Party and the Negro liberation movement; and many other contributions on the outstanding questions and issues that face the American people.

That the book is important cannot be doubted. It marks a significant development of Marxist-Leninist theory in native American soil in the general development of a mass working class party in the United States. This book is the clearest expression of the issue and objectives of the present struggle of the American working class and

further advanced by the historic decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International.

This book is not an accidental production. It is a product of the present stage of the class struggle of the American working class. It bears out the analysis made by Engels already in 1892 about the conditions for the appearance of an independent working class movement. Engels at that time wrote:

"The Americans can strain and struggle as much as they like, but they cannot realize their future—colossally great as it is—all at once, like a bill of exchange; they must wait for the date on which it comes due; and just *because* their future is so great, their present must mainly occupy itself with preparatory work for the future, and this work, as in every young country, is of a predominantly material nature and determines a certain backwardness of thought, a clinging to traditions connected with the founding of the new nationality. . . . It is the revolutionizing of all traditional relations through industry *as it develops*, which also revolutionizes people's minds."

Comrade Browder in his book points out these changes and their significance for the policy that the working class must follow. Thus, we can see from a study of *Communism in the United States* that:

1. The American people cannot any longer find new development westward. The vast expansion of the inner market for the United States, characteristic of the earlier period, is no longer possible. Classes are, as a whole, fixed and with rare exceptions, hereditary and there is no general phenomena of workers going into the middle class and even becoming comparatively well-to-do, but on the contrary, there is a process of impoverishment of the city petty bourgeoisie and farmers.

2. The working class is socially and economically more homogeneous. The great language, national and race variousness, due to vast immigration, has now been reduced to a position of minor importance by sixteen years of practically no immigration. The economic bases for the aristocracy of labor is being greatly narrowed. The sharp struggle for defense of their economic interests under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism is welding the workers and unemployed into a closer unity. The last few years of crisis have especially speeded this process.

3. The toilers are, as a whole, finding themselves in the position where they must *struggle* against the reactionary and fascist tendencies and to keep their still remaining political rights.

All these things have prepared the ground for a mass independent working class party in the United States. In these speeches are pictured and analyzed the actual process of struggle for the formation of such a mass party of the working class, the difficulties in its path and the methods to overcome it. It is the convincing truth of that analysis, its depth and understanding and its clear policy that gives this book its immediate political importance. Schools and individuals studying the revolutionary labor movement have here an excellent text to guide them in their study, especially of the present growing movement for a mass anti-capitalist, anti-fascist party of the workers and farmers.

The Tasks of the United Front of the Youth

*Resolution Adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Young
Communist International on the Report of Wolf Michal)*

The life of the younger generation of toilers in the capitalist countries has lately deteriorated to an unheard-of degree, and it still continues to worsen. The overwhelming majority of youth are now a helplessly oppressed and exploited generation.

What characterizes at the present time the life of the large sections of the toiling youth?

Mass unemployment, an ever growing number of youth who have not worked, and who generally never had an opportunity to learn a trade, fierce exploitation of those employed in industry, impoverishment of the peasant youth, denial of the political rights to the youth, and their lack of access to a cultured life; sharply curtailed possibilities of securing a general or a special education, loss of any prospects, destruction of the normal healthy life of the youth, spreading vagrancy, prostitution, and crime.

The fascist system of forced labor and militarization is being ever more widely applied in the capitalist countries. Fascism is brutally annihilating the best elements of the revolutionary youth, and at the same time trying to utilize for its own reactionary ends the profound feeling of dissatisfaction of the toiling youth with the present conditions of life, and their growing urge for militant action. Inciting the youth to hatred of one nationality against those of another, fascism fanned chauvinism and is trying to inculcate its mad "race theory" into the minds of youth. Relying on the fascists and other reactionary parties, the big bourgeoisie are seeking to convert the young generation into an obedient tool of their class and imperialist policies.

Fascism means war. It menaces the independence of the weak nations (the war of Italian fascism against Ethiopia), intensifies imperialist oppression in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and directs military provocations (German fascism) especially against the Soviet Union. *Fascism is preparing another monstrous catastrophe, which will mean death to millions of the youth.*

At the same time, however, there is a growing youth movement against fascism, imperialist war, and capitalist exploitation. Ever larger sections of the youth belonging to the various organizations, regardless of nationality or religious belief, are anxiously seeking a way to improve their life, are beginning to defend their rights, and are entering the arena for their interests—for freedom and for peace.

The forces of the youth, however, are scattered, and consequently their fight does not lead to decisive success. All experience shows that the youth cannot successfully defend their interests without uniting their

forces on the side of the working class and the entire toiling population to fight the common enemy—fascism and imperialism.

I. THE NECESSITY FOR A CHANGE IN THE CHARACTER OF THE YOUTH LEAGUES

1. *The cause of the toiling youth imperatively demands their unification in genuine class, non-party youth organizations, consisting not only of Communist, but also Socialist, and non-party, national revolutionary, pacifist, religious, and other sections of the youth, organizations which would, through their daily attention towards economic, political and cultural interests and rights of the toiling youth, educate their members in the spirit of the class struggle—proletarian internationalism, Marxism-Leninism.*

The creation of such genuine mass youth organizations of a new type requires a radical reorganization of the Young Communist Leagues, and a complete abandonment of any form of sectarian copying of the Parties.

All the vital interests of the younger generation of toilers, the most diversified, healthy requirements of the youth, and not abstract politics should determine the substance and the life of the youth organizations. The work of these organizations should be adapted entirely to the desires and requirements of the youth themselves so that while learning, organizing and fighting for the vital interests of the toiling classes, the youth would become educated in the spirit of the fight for freedom, for socialism, against reaction, against fascism, against imperialist war.

2. The doors of these youth organizations must be wide open for the entire working class youth, for the young peasants, the students and other youth who sincerely and loyally wish to participate in their work.

All the work of these organizations should be built on the *basis of wide democracy*. The members of the organizations should have full power to decide in a democratic way the tasks, the forms of work, and the character of their organizations; they should be given guidance by means of example and conviction, and not by orders from above. The demands advanced by the leaders to the rank-and-file members, especially to new ones, both as regards work and discipline, should be adapted to the mass character of the youth organizations, and should not be the same as the demands advanced to members of some sect. The high demands which are usually put to Party members should not be exacted from the youth.

Independence and the non-party character of the youth organizations do not exclude the establishment of permanent contact of these organizations with the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Parties. On the contrary, it is in the interests of the toilers that this be done. The Congress deems it an exceedingly important task to convince all members of that, and also of the necessity of the youth international being associated with the Communist International.

3. The organizational forms of the Youth Leagues cannot be the

for all countries, all regions or cities. They must always coincide with the concrete conditions and specific tasks of the youth movement. The most essential form of organization of youth leagues are all kinds of clubs and circles satisfying the cultural, economic, professional and political interests of the youth, and also local societies, courses, residential groups, groups of unemployed, young peasants, girls, students, etc.

II. FOR UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH

1. In seeking to rally all the toiling youth, the Congress considers it *its task to bring about organic unity with the Young Socialist Leagues and the primary task of the Young Communist Leagues.*

This unity is justified by the fact that the Socialist youth also occupy an anti-fascist position and are equally interested in improving the life of the youth, in freedom, in peace, and in striving towards socialism.

There is not the slightest justification for a continuation of the isolation in the ranks of the working class youth. The uniting of these two leagues, which at the present time are, in most countries, small organizations, isolated from the masses, will not only double their membership, but will render them an extremely powerful force of attraction for the broad masses of the toiling youth.

2. The chief hindrance to the direct unity of the organizations of the Young Communist and Socialist youth comes from the leaders of most parties of the Socialist International who act as guardians to the Socialist youth movement, and who, basing themselves on a certain section of the leading functionaries of the Socialist youth, try to fetter any free initiative of the members in the matter of unity.

In order to clear the path to this unity, the Y.C.L. organizations must exert every effort to establish fraternal relations with the organizations of the Socialist youth and work especially for bringing about a united front of the youth in practice.

The Young Communist Leagues and the Young Socialist organizations of France, Spain and Austria, showed by their joint activity that a united front is not only necessary, but possible. They have smashed over the slanderous charges made by the enemies of the united front the effect that unity of action is a "maneuver" directed against the Socialist organizations. *The united front is the chief weapon for repelling the fascist offensive.*

The Congress recommends all organizations affiliated to the Y.C.I. to enter into united front agreements with the Socialist youth in defense of the interests of the toiling youth, working out jointly with their organizations the basis and plan of joint action on a local and national scale, to treat separate questions as well as on the basis of common platforms. This is the best method of hastening and ensuring the unification of the youth.

In all cases it is necessary to make a most careful study and to take account of the concrete conditions and practical occasions for joint struggle, and also the sentiments of the members of the Socialist organizations.

In places where the Socialist Youth Leagues put forward demands or organize activity corresponding to the interests of the toiling youth, the members of our organizations must give them active support and do everything to secure the granting of their demands.

It is also necessary together with the Socialist youth to appeal to the Socialist and Communist Members of Parliament and to present demands to Social-Democratic Ministers (wherever such are in office) for the passing of laws and decrees to improve the situation of the youth.

3. While widely developing the united front movement, it is necessary, in the interests of the common fighting, to bring about constant cooperation between the two Leagues through the creation of joint associations. Taking as a starting point the experience of the "coordination committees" in France, and the "alliance committees" in Spain, it is necessary to set up various anti-fascist associations of the Communist and Socialist Youth Leagues.

When such associations are formed, the Leagues remain independent and may maintain their connections with their respective Parties and Internationals.

4. In a number of countries, such as France, Spain, Austria, Latvia, and some others, the practical prerequisites for uniting the two Leagues into a single organization already exist.

A necessary condition for the formation and development of united organizations is the full democratic right of the members themselves to settle the question of the basis of unity (the platform of further struggle against capitalist exploitation, fascism, imperialist war, for the vital interests of the youth) as well as the connections of the united Leagues with the parties and the question of adherence to an International.

The Young Communist International will give the most practical help to bring about the formation of united Leagues of the toiling youth in any country. At the same time the Young Communist International announces its firm determination to fight for the unification of the revolutionary youth throughout the world, for the formation of a single Youth International.

III. UNITY OF THE FORCE OF THE ENTIRE GENERATION OF YOUNG TOILERS

1. The distressed situation of the vast majority of the young generation and the increasing urge to struggle for their interests raise as an urgent task the uniting of the forces of all the non-fascist youth organizations in a joint struggle for freedom, peace, and the rights of the younger generation.

The Sections of the Young Communist International in France and the U.S.A. have understood the tremendous importance of this task. This is shown by their active participation in the wide united front movement of the youth which is taking place in these countries. The success of the movement in these countries only became possible thanks to the fact that the youth from the most varied mass organizations were drawn into the discussion and elaboration of a common platform of cooperation.

There is no doubt that there exist also in many other countries extensive possibilities for the development of such a movement of the younger generation. However, in some countries (Canada, Great Britain and Switzerland), the Sections of the Young Communist International have taken only the first steps in this direction, while in the majority of countries even this has not yet been done. In many countries, the members of our Leagues do not understand the problems arising before the younger generation and have in general adopted a narrowly sectarian approach to the young people in the youth organizations formed by the bourgeoisie, simply regarding these organizations and their members as opponents. In some cases, our Leagues have tried to force upon the broad masses of the youth and their organizations a stereotyped, ready-made platform, prepared without consultation with the youth of other organizations.

2. "The Young Communist League must strive in every way to unite the forces of all the non-fascist mass youth organizations to the effect of forming various kinds of joint organizations for the fight against fascism, against the unparalleled oppression and militarization of the youth, for the economic and cultural rights of the young generation, drawing these young workers to the side of the anti-fascist front, no matter where they are to be found—in the factories, the forced labor camps, the labor exchanges, the barracks, the navy, in schools, various clubs, cultural and other organizations". (Dimitroff.)

While working with all energy and initiative to carry out this extremely important task, it should be firmly remembered that the platform must also the forms and methods of cooperation must be worked out in the most democratic manner, taking into consideration the cultural and political level, especially the questions of the youth of the given country, and the burning questions which interest various sections of the youth. Special attention should be paid in this connection to work among the peasant youth and the students.

In the fight for the uniting of the youth against reaction and fascism, it is essential for all members of the Leagues to eliminate completely sectarian methods of approach to the broad sections of the youth. It is undoubtedly necessary that they should learn to speak in the vivid language of youth, and once and for all to give up repeating stock phrases.

It is particularly important in the ideological fight against fascism to take into account the revolutionary and democratic traditions of one's own people, not in the slightest degree adopting a contemptuous attitude toward the national feelings of the youth, but at the same time fighting relentlessly against chauvinism, and working to educate the youth in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Having in view the democratic traditions, it is essential to protect all democratic rights against fascism, to fight against any oppressive measures against the youth, and for economic, cultural and democratic rights.

In every place where fascist demagogues put forward slogans and promises which correspond to the feelings and demands of the toiling masses, we must propose without hesitation that the youth *should insist*

on these promises being immediately carried out and must begin an independent mass struggle to bring them into practice.

4. The Congress states that the *Young Communist International* will give every possible support to the youth movement against fascism and war in any country. The Y.C.I. will also give active support to the movement directed towards the organization of a world meet and the establishment of constant international collaboration among progressive youth.

IV. THE TASKS OF THE MASS MOVEMENT IN FASCIST COUNTRIES

1. The Congress sets before all the revolutionary organizations of the youth, which are fighting in fascist countries, the task of passing from the system of small circles and general agitation to direct legal and semi-legal mass activity. It is not correct to imagine that there are no legal possibilities in countries with a fascist dictatorship for the development of a mass movement of struggle for the vital interests of the youth.

Vast numbers of the youth in these countries have voluntarily or by compulsion been brought into the fascist mass youth organizations. It is possible and necessary within these organizations to develop the wide independent activity of the youth. A significant part of these youth still believe in the false ideals given them by fascism and in the fascist leaders. But on the other hand, the bitter reality of their lives and the fact that their needs and demands are not being satisfied give rise to discontent and activity which is not yet directed against the fascist regime, but is primarily in defense of their direct interests and requirements.

Our task is not to issue abstract appeals for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, but to be able to defend the day-to-day demands and needs of the youth, to support and unite them on this basis, utilizing all legal and semi-legal possibilities and subordinating the work of the illegal organizations to this task. It is essential for the youth themselves to be roused to stubbornly demand the fulfilment of the promises which fascism gave them so that they will in this way be led up to a real fight against fascism.

2. All the mass forms and measures of fascist work among the youth must be made use of with the aim of rallying the forces of the youth to the struggle for their interests, and this makes it necessary *to begin suitable forms of work in all the fascist youth mass organizations and also in the trade unions*, in every way supporting and encouraging opposition sentiment among the members of these organizations, seeking to isolate the conscious agents of fascism.

Wherever there is opposition sentiment in democratic, liberal and radical youth circles and groups, as in Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Austria, etc., it is necessary to work for the establishment of youth organizations absolutely independent of fascism, and for united action with them.

Wherever fascism prohibits and suppresses the non-fascist youth

organizations, our first task is to give friendly support to their struggle, the freedom and independence of their organizations. It is at the same time necessary to work together with them for the amalgamation of all forces of the youth.

V. THE TASK OF THE YOUTH IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Congress of the Young Communist International notes with regret that only an insignificant section of the working youth are organized in trade unions and that the rising young generation of toilers is not being educated and steeled in the ranks of the trade union movement in the spirit of militant class solidarity and devotion to the cause of the working class.

Yet the fight for the economic and cultural interests of the youth, and also the fight against the spreading of fascist influence among the youth, cannot be successful without the aid of the trade unions. That is precisely why it is necessary to work for the organization of all young workers in the trade unions, and the arrangement of diverse forms of work among the large sections of the youth inside the trade unions.

The Congress calls upon all young workers who support the Young Communist International to join unions, to take active part in the work and to fight for trade union unity, to win by their good work the respect of their fellow trade union members. Considering the fact that it is important that in some countries, as in Austria and Belgium, for example, some unions have begun to organize the young workers, the Congress urgently recommends to all Sections of the Young Communist International actively to support any propaganda and organizational work not only of the Red, but also of the Amsterdam and other unions, to recruit the young workers.

It is exceedingly important to work with the trade unions for gainful work, and for social insurance for the young unemployed. It is essential to work for concrete aid for the unemployed youth and especially the girls, by organizing all kinds of vocational courses, lodgings, night centers, special workshops, and clubs for girls. Work among the youth in the various kinds of labor camps is of particular importance at the present time.

VI. THE TASKS OF THE UNITED FRONT IN THE SPORTS MOVEMENT

The Congress emphasizes the importance of developing a sports movement of the youth, independent of the bourgeois state, and calls upon the Sections of the Young Communist International actively to operate in the unification of the worker-sports organizations in every country, and in bringing about international unity of the workers' sports movement. However, it should be borne in mind that the workers' sports movement in most countries, even the united organizations, have in their ranks only a minority of the young toiling sportsmen. It is therefore necessary to take active part in bringing about cooperation and even an

amalgamation of all sports organizations in which large numbers of young toilers are to be found.

While participating in the mass sports organizations in fascist countries it is necessary to fight against chauvinist and military propaganda of the fascists among the sportsmen. The fight of the masses of sportsmen for their immediate demands should be assisted and given leadership.

One of the most important immediate tasks in cooperating with the large masses of young sportsmen is to carry on a joint fight against the carrying out of the olympiad in fascist Germany.

VII. PARTICIPATION OF THE YOUTH IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST PEOPLE'S FRONT

A most important and immediate task in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is the formation of a powerful youth movement on the basis of combatting illiteracy among the younger generation, for the freedom of national culture, for healthier and better conditions of life and work, for democratic rights and liberties, against oppression, slavery, and exploitation.

With this in view the organizations affiliated to the Y.C.I. must establish closer relations with all mass youth organizations, especially with the national revolutionary and national reformist organizations. Cooperating with these and other mass youth organizations, allowing for the differences existing between the diverse strata of the youth in the various districts of one and the same country, it is necessary to create various types of peasant, Indian, Negro, student, women's, cultural, athletic and other youth organizations for the sake of an amalgamation of the forces of the younger generation on the basis of a wide platform of struggle in the interests of the toiling youth, and also to broaden and unite such organizations wherever they are to be found.

The task of drawing the youth into the anti-imperialist people's front demands that work be commenced on the establishment of a new type of mass youth organization of a national liberation character which would include the widest possible strata of the youth and the national revolutionary and national reformist organizations, in place of the narrow political groups isolated from the basic masses. These organizations should carry on activity not only in the cities, but where the basic masses of the peasant youth are. They must organize their work so as to satisfy all the essential requirements and demands of the youth and educate them in the spirit of revolutionary hatred for the imperialist oppressors, in the spirit of devotion to the cause of emancipation of their own people from any form of exploitation and slavery.

The most important task in China is to create a mass movement of the entire youth and their organizations to fight for better living conditions for the toiling youth, for a higher cultural level, for democratic freedom, and in order to secure greater active participation of the youth in the fight of the people to save the country from the imperialist invaders.

VIII. AGAINST FASCISM, FOR SOCIALISM, FOR A FREE AND HAPPY LIFE OF THE TOILING YOUTH

The Congress of the Young Communist International greets with pride and joy the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Land of the Soviets. A happy socialist future is wide open before the youth of the Soviet Union. At the bottom of their education lies Stalin's great contribution to the human being.

Under the wise leadership of Stalin, the great teacher and best friend of the young toilers of the world, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the youth of the Soviet Union are marching from victory to victory in the struggle for the building of a classless, socialist society, which knows no exploitation of man by man.

The Land of Soviets, carrying into life the revolutionary tenets of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, has become an invincible stronghold of the international proletariat in the fight for freedom and peace.

It is the task of the youth leagues widely to popularize the achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and to rally the youth to the support of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and to its defense against world imperialism.

Fascism is preparing an attack on the land of peace and labor, and is the greatest menace to the toilers of all countries. However, notwithstanding the painful difficulties and hard living conditions in the capitalist countries, as in all capitalist countries, the forces are growing which shatter the domination of the bourgeoisie. *"The relation of class forces on a world scale is steadily changing in favor of the growing forces of the revolution."* (From the Resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.)

The following words uttered by the fearless fighter of fascism, Comrade Dimitroff, should guide the struggle of the whole revolutionary youth:

"We want to find a common language with the broad masses in order to fight against the class enemy, to find the path by which we can finally end the isolation of the revolutionary vanguard from the masses of the proletariat and all the toilers, and by which we can put an end to the fatal isolation of the working class itself from its natural allies in the fight against the bourgeoisie, against fascism."

Our path was shown us by Lenin and Stalin.

Our path was pointed out by the helmsman of the Communist International, Dimitroff. It is a path of consolidation and organization on the basis of a wide united front of all forces of the younger generation of toilers.

We consecrate all our forces to the salvation of the youth from fascism and the danger of imperialist war, and to the fight for a free, peaceful, and happy life of the youth.

On Amendments to the Program and the Preparation of New Statutes for the Young Communist International

(Resolution Adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International)

1. In view of the great changes that have taken place since the Fifth Congress both in the international situation and in the various countries, and also in view of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International, which raised the chief tasks of the international working class movement and consequently of the youth movement in a new manner, the Congress resolves to amend the program of the Young Communist International in conformity with the decisions of these Congresses.

In working out these changes, the following points should primarily be taken into account:

(a) The economic, political and cultural rights and demands of the toiling youth, which have become particularly urgent in connection with the worsening of their situation.

(b) The Leftward swing of the Socialist youth, the experience of the united front movement and of the struggle to bring about unity between the Communist and Socialist Youth Leagues on a national and international scale.

(c) The necessity for forming non-Party and genuinely mass youth organizations which will train the youth in the spirit of the class struggle, proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism.

(d) The growing urge towards the active defense of their interests among the member of the various democratic, religious and other youth organizations, and the task arising in connection with this, of uniting the forces of all the toiling youth in the fight against reaction, fascism and imperialist war, for the interests of the younger generation of toilers.

2. The Congress considers it necessary to work out new statutes of the Young Communist International in the spirit of the political resolution adopted by the Sixth Congress. In this connection, the conditions of acceptance into the Young Communist International must be extended in such a way as to allow not only Communist organizations, but also other anti-fascist, national emancipation, and national revolutionary youth organizations to join it if they are prepared to participate in international cooperation.

The Congress instructs the new Executive Committee of the Young Communist International to send a finished draft of the changed program and the new statutes to all organizations for discussion.

On the Results of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International

Resolution Adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International on the Report of O. Kuusinen)

1. Having heard the report of Comrade Kuusinen on the results of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, the Congress of the Young Communist International fully associates itself with the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern with a profound realization of the tremendous political significance of these decisions, and with full confidence that the path pointed out by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern to the international workers' movement, tested by the experience of the victorious proletariat of the U.S.S.R. under the guidance of the beloved leader of the oppressed and exploited of the whole world, the great Stalin, is the true path for further successes and victories by the workers of the world in their revolutionary struggle against fascism and imperialism, for the liberation of all the toilers and the peoples of the world from the yoke of capitalism.

2. The Congress makes it the duty of the Executive Committee and all the Sections of the Young Communist International to organize the popularization of the reports and decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and to ensure their attentive study by all members and especially by the cadres of the Young Communist League organizations, and also to acquaint the broad masses of toiling youth systematically with the results of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, so that the youth of all countries will profoundly master all the ideological issues of this Congress.

3. The Congress adopts with particular enthusiasm all that was decided in the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and in the speech of Comrade Dimitroff on the tasks of the toiling youth, which has put a firm Bolshevik foundation under the work of our world youth congress.

4. The Congress considers that the statement of Comrade Dimitroff, Chairman of the Comintern, to the effect that "it is and will be fully possible for the youth united in the ranks of the Young Communist International to develop their revolutionary movement *independently* and to decide the questions of this movement", requires all the members of all the organizations of the Young Communist International to show themselves worthy of this trust by Bolshevik work.

The Congress of the Young Communist International assures the members of the Comintern that the international Communist youth movement is ready and determined to fight with all its energy under the banner of the Communist International, and to give all its forces for the cause of the world socialist revolution.

The Training of the Soviet Youth in the Struggle for Socialism

(Resolution Adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International on the Report of V. E. Chemodanov)

HAVING heard the report of Comrade Chemodanov, the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International states with profound satisfaction that the final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union has brought about a radical change in the situation of the younger generation of the U.S.S.R.

The rapid growth in the material welfare and culture of the toiling masses, the absence of unemployment or anxiety for the morrow, the complete liberation of women, the unlimited solicitude for children on the part of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government, ensure a happy childhood for the younger generation of the U.S.S.R.

The enormous development of education, the extension of general education to all children and youth, the full possibility for all who so desire to obtain higher education, the material provision made for the students and school children by the socialist government, ensure that the Soviet youth can develop all their creative forces and possess the heights of culture and science.

Released from the horrors of unemployment and capitalist exploitation, the possibility of selecting their own profession, of learning new professions and perfecting their qualification, the possibility of working for their own benefit and not for parasites, the six-hour working day, the domination of the principle of equal pay for equal work in Soviet production, have created in the U.S.S.R. a young generation for whom labor is "a matter of honor, of glory, of valor and heroism". (Stalin.)

The active and passive electoral rights of the youth in the socialist parliament—Soviets—from the age of eighteen, the participation of hundreds of thousands of young workers, collective farmers, employees and students in the work of the Soviets, in the administration of the state and in all the organs and organizations for the economic, technical and cultural administration of the country, ensure that the Soviet youth will develop their social abilities, give rise among them to a feeling of responsibility for the common cause and supreme devotion to the socialist fatherland.

The greatest revolution of the world in the countryside, collectivization, has brought millions of young peasant men and women to a well-to-do, cultured and social life and has educated in the villages a new, young generation which does not know the idiocy of country life.

The young generation of the U.S.S.R. has been educated and is being educated in the struggle for socialist society, against its enemies.

The Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, the foremost detachment of the Young Communist International, guided by the Lenin-

Party with the constant attention of the great Stalin, the best and of the youth, leads and rallies the Soviet youth to this struggle. Under the tried leadership of Comrade Kosarev, the Young Communist League has become the mass organizer and leader of the Soviet youth. As the initiator of socialist competition and shock work, it has rendered meritorious services to its credit in carrying out the great plans of socialist construction.

The Young Communist League members are the best shock workers among the youth on the industrial giants and in the socialist fields. The Young Communist League members are the best young engineers, technicians, agricultural specialists, scientists, teachers. The Young Communist League members are the best young airmen, parachutists, sportsmen, explorers of the Arctic and the stratosphere, marksmen and divers.

The Young Communist League is the smithy forging out the new youth who passionately loves freedom and his socialist country, who hates oppression and exploitation, who is bold and cheerful, overcoming any difficulties, cultured and buoyant.

The mighty lesson of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. for the youth of the world is that only the Soviet socialist system is able to solve the problem of the younger generation.

It is the duty of the young workers, the young peasants and intellectuals of the whole world who are menaced with doom by capitalism and fascism to support and strengthen the U.S.S.R. It is the duty of the honest young people in the world who want peace, freedom, progress and rights for the younger generation to support the work of the younger generation of the U.S.S.R. and fight boldly against all its enemies.

Long live the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of the fight of the workers of the whole world, the shock-brigade of the socialist revolution!

Long live Comrade Stalin, the leader of the oppressed of the whole world, the best teacher and friend of the youth!

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